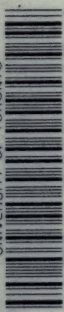



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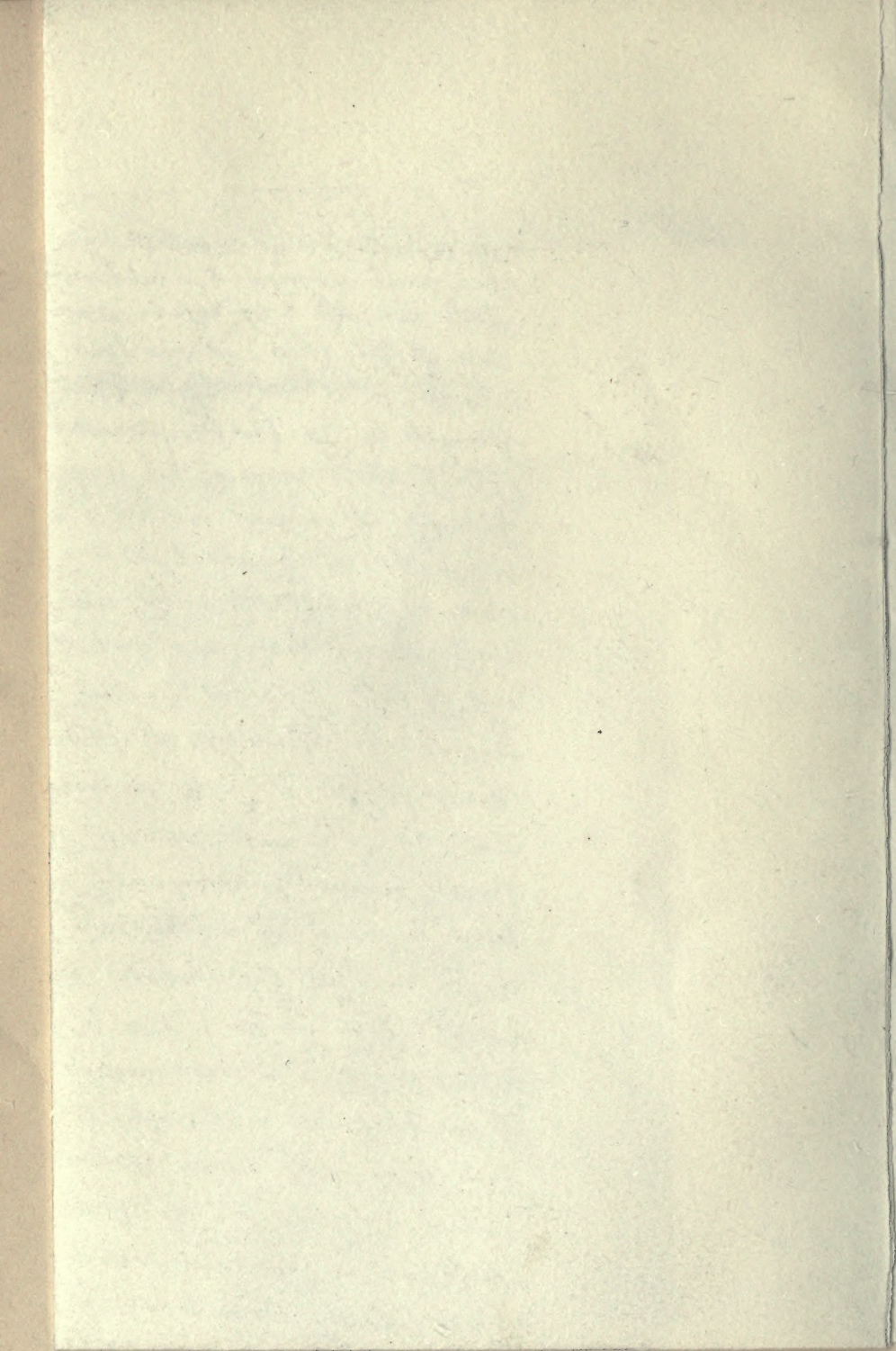


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BRYN MAWR COLLEGE
MONOGRAPHS

Monograph Series, Vol. XIV



Poems by Sir John Salusbury and
Robert Chester

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

CARLETON BROWN

153717
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FOREWORDS

During the last two decades of the reign of Elizabeth poetry was in the very air, and obscure as well as great men caught the contagion of verse-making. It is with the verse of some of these obscure men that the present volume is concerned. If judged on their own merits these pieces might perhaps have been left in the oblivion in which they have remained for over three centuries. But though having in themselves no importance as literature, they throw additional light upon poems by Shakspeare and other great Elizabethans: *alia claritas solis, alia claritas lunæ*.

In presenting this material to the reader, I gladly take the opportunity of expressing my thanks to those who have in many ways courteously forwarded my investigation. To H. W. Blunt, Esq., M. A., Librarian of Christ Church, Oxford, I am indebted for according me liberal facilities for examining the Christ Church manuscript, and to the Archbishop Wake's Trustees for granting leave to print the poems contained in it. I have also to thank the Secretary to the Delegates of the Clarendon Press, C. Cannan, Esq., for the free use of rotographs of these poems. To S. R. Christie-Miller, Esq., of Britwell Court, I am under obligations for permission to reprint poems from the unique copy of the Parry volume, which is preserved in his library. In this connection I wish also to record my appreciation of the kindness of the Librarian at Britwell Court, Herbert Collman, Esq., who not only transcribed these poems for me but carefully collated the proof-sheets with the original.

In searching for biographical materials concerning Sir John Salusbury, I was enabled to examine the Cecil Papers at Hatfield House, through the gracious permission of the Marquess of Salisbury, who also gave consent to the repro-

duction in facsimile of the letter which appears as the frontispiece. In the matter of Salusbury biography, however, my greatest obligation is to A. Foulkes-Roberts, Esq., of Denbigh. Himself a lineal descendant of Catherine of Berain, Mr. Foulkes-Roberts for years has made diligent researches in Salusbury family history. In response to my appeal he cheerfully placed at my disposal the extensive materials which he had collected, including his transcripts from the Bodfari Parish Register and from Robert Parry's Diary. He has also been good enough to read over the section on the Biography of Sir John Salusbury, and thereby has saved me from a number of errors of detail. Had it not been for his assistance this sketch of Salusbury's life would lack some of its most important facts.

C. B.

Bryn Mawr, Pa., October, 1913.

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INTRODUCTION

The interpretation of Shakspeare's *Phoenix and Turtle* has occasioned so much difficulty that the perplexed commentator sometimes feels tempted, "for these dead Birds," not to "sigh a prayer" but to breathe a malediction. Shakspeare's brief poem in itself presents a hopeless enigma. The allegory of the Phoenix and the Turtle should not, however, be studied in the light of Shakspeare's poem alone. If one is to discover its application one must examine also the other "poeticall essaies" among which Shakspeare's lines are included, and above all one must seek the solution of the allegory in Robert Chester's poem, *Loves Martyr*, to which the pieces by Shakspeare, Marston, Chapman, Jonson and "Ignoto" are appended. The close relationship between these supplementary poems and *Loves Martyr* is stated in unmistakable terms on the title-page by which they are introduced:

Hereafter
follow Diverse
Poeticall Essaies on the former Sub-
iect viz. the *Turtle* and *Phoenix*.

These words suggest, if they do not explicitly affirm, that the allegory in the supplementary pieces merely continues that which is woven into the fabric of *Loves Martyr*. A further consideration pointing in the same direction is the fact that Chester's poem and the supplementary pieces are dedicated to the same patron—Sir John Salusbury of Lleweni.

Such being the case, it would appear that the most promising approach to an understanding of Shakspeare's *Phoenix and Turtle* must begin with inquiries concerning Robert

Chester, whose poem supplied the basis of the allegory, and Sir John Salusbury, to whom the whole collection of poems is dedicated. Indeed, Professor Gollancz, in a notably judicious statement of the problem, intimates that Salusbury may be not only the patron but also one of the central figures in the allegory. After expressing his confidence that the solution "will some day be discovered," he adds this suggestion: "It would seem from the title-page that the private family history of Sir John Salisbury ought to yield the necessary clue to the events."¹ In any case it becomes clear that we need to assemble all possible evidence which may throw light upon the personal relations between Chester and Salusbury or between Salusbury and the other poets who dedicated their verses to him.

In the thirty-five years since Dr. Grosart re-printed the 1601 edition of *Loves Martyr*, with a copious Introduction, no further contribution has been made to our information concerning either Robert Chester or his patron. The former, Dr. Grosart sought to identify with Sir Robert Chester of Royston, Herts. This identification, which was based purely upon conjecture, must now be abandoned for reasons which will be presented in a later section. In the case of the patron of the poem, Sir John Salusbury, Dr. Grosart was more fortunate. He had no difficulty in identifying him as a young Knight of prominent family whose seat was at Lleweni in Denbighshire. He also pointed out the interesting fact that to the same patron "Robert Parry Gent." dedicated in 1597 a small volume of verse which bears the cryptic title: *Sinetes Passions*.

The larger part of Dr. Grosart's Introduction, unfortunately, was devoted to an attempt to prove that the Phoenix and Turtle were, respectively, Elizabeth and the Earl of Essex. This interpretation of the allegory was at the most

¹ *The Larger Temple Shakespeare*, Vol. XII (1904), Preface to *The Rape of Lucrece*, etc.

a bold guess and is now definitely disproved by the discovery, as will appear later, that Sir John Salusbury was bitterly opposed to the party of Essex, and therefore, was the last person to whom such an allegory as Dr. Grosart constructed would have been dedicated. Despite his unsuccessful attempt to interpret the allegory, Dr. Grosart's researches made a valuable contribution to our knowledge concerning *Loves Martyr* and its appended poems, and the materials—both biographical and bibliographical—which he brought together are the basis upon which subsequent critics and commentators have built.

In the following pages two documents are for the first time presented which contain important additional information concerning both Robert Chester and Sir John Salusbury. The first of these is a manuscript preserved in the library of Christ Church, Oxford. The second is a reprint from Robert Parry's volume already mentioned, of that portion which is described on a separate title-page as "The Patrone his pathetical Posies," *etc.* These two documents together afford us a series of poems by Salusbury and Chester, many of them signed and dated, and nearly all of them composed prior to the publication of *Loves Martyr*.

Before proceeding to consider these documents, however, it will be well to set down in order the data which I have collected concerning the life and family history of Sir John Salusbury. By availing myself of unprinted materials—especially those at Hatfield House and the Public Record Office—I have been able considerably to enlarge (and in some points to correct) the biographical sketch given by Dr. Grosart (pp. xi-xiii).

I. THE BIOGRAPHY OF SIR JOHN SALUSBURY

Sir John Salusbury of Lleweni—known as "the Strong"—was the grandson of Sir John Salusbury Knt., who represented the County of Denbigh in several parliaments and

who was appointed constable of Denbigh Castle by Henry VIII in 1530, and held the office of Receiver of North Wales. The bodies of Sir John's grandparents rest in an alabaster tomb in the old Whit-church at Denbigh, surmounted with their effigies; around the side of the tomb are ranged effigies of their nine sons—the second, Robert, in a doctor's gown—and their four daughters—two of the latter being bound in shrouds. The inscription on the tomb reads: "Here lieth the bodies of Sir Ihon Salusbury of lleweny in the Countie of dēbigh knight: who deceassed the xvijth of march in the yere of our lord God 1578 and dame iane his wief daughter and Co heier to dauid Midleton esquier aldermā of westchester w^{ch} iane in A^o. 1588 at her charges fully Erected this tombe or Monument & died: the of in A^o. 15 . . ." ²

The eldest son of this pair was John Salusbury, Esq., who married Catherine of Berain, and by her had two sons, Thomas and John, and a daughter, Elizabeth.³ Since John Salusbury, Esq., died in May or June, 1566,⁴ his younger son—*our* Sir John Salusbury—was evidently a posthumous child, for he was born probably either in December, 1566, or January, 1567.⁵

² The will of the elder Sir John Salusbury, dated 1578, was proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, and is now preserved in Somerset House (26 Langley).

³ Elizabeth Salusbury married Owen Brereton of Borasham, co. Denbigh, who was High Sheriff of the County in 1581 and 1588.

⁴ The exact date of his death is not known, but his will (of which a copy is preserved in the St. Asaph District Probate Registry) is dated May 10, 1566; and the probate endorsement bears date July 24 of the same year. I am under obligations to A. Foulkes-Roberts, Esq., of Denbigh, for information concerning this will and for kindly furnishing me with a transcript of it.

⁵ An earlier date is excluded by the matriculation record at Jesus College, Nov. 24, 1581, which gives his age as 14 (Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*, p. 1304). Confirmatory testimony as to the date of his birth is supplied by a portrait of him dated, "1591 *aet.* 24" (Pennant's *Tours in Wales*, ed. J. Rhys, Caernarvon, 1883, II, 140). This latter piece of evidence has already been noted by Dr. Grosart (p. xii).

On his mother's side Sir John Salusbury traced his descent from blood royal. Catherine of Berain was the granddaughter of Sir Roland Velville, illegitimate son of Henry VII,⁶ and inherited in her own name the Tudor patrimony, "Penmynydd," in Anglesey. According to Mrs. Thrale—who was herself a direct descendant of Sir John Salusbury—Catherine of Berain was a ward to Queen Elizabeth and was married to Salusbury by the special consent of her Majesty.⁷ In May, 1567, nearly a year after the death of her first husband, Catherine was married to Sir Richard Clough, Knight of the Sepulchre and factor to Queen Elizabeth, who was reputed to be the wealthiest commoner in England.⁸

The three years of her married life with Sir Richard, Catherine spent for the most part in foreign travels. By her second husband she had two daughters, Anne born in 1568 and Mary in 1569. On the death of Sir Richard at Hamburg in 1570, Catherine returned home and shortly after took as her third husband Morris Wyn of Gwydir, Esq., who served three terms as Sheriff of Caernarvonshire and re-

*The line of descent is as follows:

Sir Roland Velville = Agnes Griffith

|

Jane Velville = Tudor ap. Robert Vychan

|

Catherine of Berain.

⁶ Mrs. Hester L. Piozzi (Mrs. Thrale), *Autobiog. Memoirs*, etc., London, 1861, I, 240. In stating, further, that Catherine's marriage took place in her fifteenth year, Mrs. Thrale is clearly mistaken, for as Catherine was born in 1535 (see below) she must have been 23 years of age when Elizabeth came to the throne.

⁸ For an account of Sir Richard Clough see Fuller's *Worthies of England*, ed. 1811, II. 594; Pennant's *Tours in Wales*, ed. J. Rhys, II. 136-8; Mrs. Piozzi, *Retrospection*, London, 1801, II. 155 note. In a "List of Benefactors" on a tablet in the old Whit-church, Denbigh, is recorded a bequest of £200 by Sir Richard toward the maintenance of a free grammar-school.

peatedly represented this county in parliament.⁹ Of this union two children were born, Edward and Jane. Morris Wyn died August 10, 1580, and his widow was led to the altar for the fourth and last time by Edward Thelwall,¹⁰ of Plas-y-Ward, Denbighshire, who was Sheriff of this County in 1590.¹¹ Finally, Catherine of Berain—"Mam Cymru" as she has often been styled—died on the 27th of August, 1591, at the age of fifty-six,¹² and was buried beside her first husband in the parish church at Llanefydd. Catherine was long remembered in Wales and became the subject of more than one picturesque though apocryphal tale. One of these, which has circulated widely, is the amusing anecdote, first printed by Pennant,¹³ of her accepting Sir Richard Clough's proposal of marriage while on her way to her first husband's funeral—to the great disappointment of Morris Wyn, who postponed his proposal until the return from the funeral. This story, however, may now be set aside on chronological grounds: Sir Richard's wooing took place in the latter part of April, 1567, when Catherine had already been a widow some eleven months. The numerous poets who celebrated her memory agree in laying stress upon her generous nature and her charitable deeds. Several por-

⁹ See Sir John Wynne Knt. and Bart., *History of the Gwydir Family*, Oswestry, 1878.

¹⁰ The date of this marriage I have not been able to ascertain, but Catherine was addressed as "Mrs. Thelwall" in 1586 (see below, p. 36).

¹¹ Cf. *Hist. MSS. Com. Report on Welsh MSS.* i. 799. For further information concerning the Thelwall family history see Dwnn's *Heraldic Visitations of Wales*, ed. S. R. Meyrick, II. 214, 336, and *Archæologia Cambrensis*, Fifth Series, VII. 314-5. Lord Herbert of Cherbury, who as a boy of nine was placed under Thelwall's charge in the year 1592 in order to learn the Welsh language, has paid high tribute to his personal qualities (*Life of Edward, Lord Herbert*, ed. H. Walpole, 1764, p. 24). Thelwall died July 28, 1610.

¹² "Vixit sex decies, si demas quattuor annos"—see below, p. 39.

¹³ *Tours in Wales*, ed. J. Rhys, II. 142.

traits of her are still in existence,¹⁴ and these show her as a woman of strong character and unusual beauty.

In regard to Sir John Salusbury's early years we have little information. At the age of fourteen he went up to Oxford, where he matriculated at Jesus College Nov. 14, 1581.¹⁵ The records do not show how long he remained at the University or whether he received his degree. Five years after his matriculation at Oxford a tragic event occurred which deeply affected him. His elder brother Thomas was arrested for complicity in the Babington plot, and on Sept. 21, 1586, was executed.¹⁶ In his confession made upon the scaffold Thomas Salusbury made avowal of his religion: "I have lyved a catholique, and so will I dye."¹⁷ From this fact one might be led to suspect that the Salusbury family belonged to the Catholic party, but so far as Sir John is concerned there is conclusive evidence, which will be cited later, that he did not share his brother's religion.

As Thomas Salusbury left no male issue, his brother John became thenceforth the heir of Lleweni. Three months later he was united in marriage with Ursula Stanley, natural daughter of Henry Stanley, fourth Earl of Derby, by Jane Halsall of Knowsley, Lancashire.¹⁸ Though of illegitimate

¹⁴ Not all of those which are claimed as her portraits are authentic. One, undoubtedly genuine, which bears the date 1568, is now in the possession of Mr. R. J. Ll. Price of Rhiwlas, and has recently been reproduced in Rev. S. Baring Gould's *Book of North Wales*, 1903, p. 146. The portrait in Philip Yorke's *Royal Tribes of Wales* (p. 93) can scarcely be a likeness of the same person. Another, which shows her as an old woman, is at present at Wygfair, in the possession of Col. Howard.

¹⁵ Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*, p. 1304.

¹⁶ For an account of the trial of Salusbury and the other conspirators see Thos. B. Howell, *Collection of State Trials*, I. 1127 ff.

¹⁷ *Hist. MSS. Com.* Report XIV, App. Part IV, p. 614.

¹⁸ See the *Victorian Co. Hist. of Lancashire* III. 162, note 10: "By Jane Halsall, of Knowsley, he [the Earl of Derby] had several natural children—Thomas Stanley of Eccleshall and Broughton in Salford, Dorothy, wife of Sir Cuthbert Halsall, and Ursula, wife of Sir John Salusbury—for whom he made liberal provision."

birth, it is to be noted that Salusbury's wife was an acknowledged child and bore her father's surname.

In the Registers of Bodfari parish—near the limits of which Lleweni is situated—one finds recorded the baptisms of the children born to Sir John and his wife. As these entries are of importance for our purpose, I quote them in full from a transcript made by A. Foulkes-Roberts, Esq., of Denbigh, which he most kindly placed at my disposal.

Jane Salusbury, Daughter to John Salusbury Esquier and heire of lleweny was baptized the xth daye of October [1587].

Harry Salusbury sonne to John Salusbury Esquier heire of lleweny was baptized the xxvjth of October, died the same day & was buried the next daye after at Whytchurch by Denbigh [1588].

Harry Salusbury sonne to John Salusbury Esquier and heir of lleweny was baptized the xxiiijth daye of September [1589]. *The said Harry Salusberi was confirmed at the house of lleweni by the bushppe of Bangor upone michells daye 1591 Mr Willm Almor beinge his godfather.*¹⁹

Ihon Salusbury sonne to Mr Iohn Salusbury Esquier and heir of lleweny was baptized & buried at Whitechurche the xxvijth day of July [1590].

John Salusbury sonne to Mr John Salusbury heyre of lleweny Esquier was baptized the vijth of November and was born the thyrday of the same moneth [1592].

francis Salusbury sonne to Mr John Salusbury heire of Lleweny Esquier was baptized the viijth of Aprill and was buried the next day folowinge at the white Church [1594].

Wiliam Salusbury sonne to John Salusbury Esquier & heire of Llewenty was Baptized the vijth of Maye and was confirmed by the Lorde bushop of St. assaphe at Place in llewyny upon the xvijth daye of June next folowinge [1595].

Oriana daughter to Mr John Salusbury of llewenye Esqui' was baptized the vjth day of June [1597].

²⁰ Velivel Salusbury sonne to John Salusbury of lleweny es & to Grace Peake was baptized the xxvjth of October [1597].

Fardynando Salusbury the 4 sonne of John Salusbury of lleweny Esquiere was borne upon thyrday the 3 of maie aboute 4 of the Clocke in the morninge of the same Daye, & Christened upon Mondaye after, whose godfathers were Michaell Othen D: in Phisicke & Mr Harry

¹⁹ The sentence in italics has been interlined afterwards.

²⁰ An asterisk is placed opposite this name in the register to denote illegitimacy.

Williams of Cochwillan gent & his godmother was Mries Margrett of Penporchell [1599].

David Salusbury the sonne of John Salusbury of lleweny Esquier was borne upon Tuesday the 19 of August about 2 of the Clocke in the astor Dinn' and was baptized upon thyrday the 28 of the same moneth whose godfathers were David Holland Esquier & Cadwaladr Wyn' gent' and Anne Cloughe the wife of Roger Sa: of Bachegrege Esqr. godmother. The said David Sa: died and was buried at Whitchurch upon tuesday the 16 of february following [1600].

In March, 1593, while in the city of Chester, Sir John was engaged in a serious affray with one Owen Salusbury, in which the latter was so grievously wounded that at first it was feared he might not survive. Sir John's father-in-law, the Earl of Derby, wrote from London to the Mayor of Chester directing that the best surgical aid should be procured for the wounded man, and that in case of his death judicial inquiry be made into the affair.²¹ Meanwhile Sir John had fled to avoid arrest and found refuge at the house of "Mr. Trevors of Trevalen"²²—apparently the same person as the Sir Richard Trevor who a few years later appears as his implacable enemy. As to the causes which provoked this encounter we are left in ignorance. It may be noted that the wounded combatant recovered, and that, as Captain Owen Salusbury, he is frequently mentioned among the most active partisans of the Earl of Essex.²³ He

²¹ This letter is preserved among the MSS. of the Corporation of Chester, *Hist. MSS. Com.* Report VIII, App. Part I. 375, col. 1. One receives the impression that Owen Salusbury was a chronically contentious person from two letters which he addressed to Sir Francis Walsingham some three years before the affray at Chester. Nov. 18, 1589, he wrote to ask assistance in securing pardon for himself and others (*Calendar of Domestic Papers*, 1581-1590, p. 630). In 1590 he complained that he had been abused by one Cosby, who would not meet him though he had challenged him (Lansdowne MS. 99, Art. 95).

²² *Hist. MSS. Com.*, *ibid.*, p. 375, col. 2.

²³ In a letter dated June 10, 1597, Capt. Owen Salusbury is stated to have received 150 trained soldiers from Herefordshire (*Hist. MSS. Com.* Report on MSS. at Hatfield House, Part VII, 250). His name appears in lists of the officers who served in Ireland, under Essex (*ibid.*,

appears to have met his death at Essex House, London, while serving his master's cause in the ill-fated rising.²⁴

Two years after the affray at Chester, we find Sir John Salusbury at London, and it is with London quite as much as with North Wales that the next ten years of his life are connected. On coming up to the city he was admitted March 19, 1594/5, as a student of the Middle Temple.²⁵ In the same month he was also appointed one of the Esquires of the body to the Queen.²⁶ On April 13, 1597, he was appointed by the Privy Council Deputy Lieutenant for the County of Denbigh, in place of Gilbert Gerrard deceased. It is interesting to note that Salusbury had been recommended for this appointment by Sir Philip Sidney's brother-in-law, the Earl of Pembroke, who was at that time Lord President of Wales.²⁷ During these years Salusbury seems

Part ix, 146 and 330). After Essex's return to England, Capt. Owen Salusbury is frequently mentioned as one of his trusted lieutenants (*ibid.*, Part xi, 42, 96 and 103) and his movements were closely watched by Government informers shortly before the Essex rising.

²⁴ Ms. Diary of Robert Parry, in possession of Col. T. A. Wynne Edwards of Plas Nantglyn, p. 52: "In this conflyet in the howse [*i. e.*, Essex House] was slaye wth a peece frō the street Capt. Owen Salusburie & one or two more hurte & some hurte & kyllid in the street." For this and the following quotations from Parry's diary I am indebted to the kindness of A. Foulkes-Roberts, Esq., of Denbigh, who has transcribed the document with the intention of publishing it. The death of Owen Salusbury is also mentioned in a contemporary account of the Essex rising printed by J. J. Munro, *Athenæum*, Dec. 26, 1908, p. 820.

²⁵ Hopwood, *Middle Temple Records*, i. 351, among the admissions of 19 March: "John Salisburi of Llawenny Denbighshire, esq., specially; with assent of Mr. Pagitt and other Masters of the Bench."

²⁶ MS. Diary of Robert Parry.

²⁷ The following is an extract from the letter of appointment, addressed by the Privy Council to the Lord Keeper [Sir Thomas Egerton]: ". . . and therefore his Lordship [the Earl of Pembroke] hathe recomended unto us John Salsbury of Llewenei, esquire, to be a gentleman of good livlyhoode and by longe continuance of his auncestours well esteemed in the country and also her Majesty's servant, and one his Lordship doth thinke worthie the credite of the place" (*Acts of the Privy Council*, 1597, p. 39).

to have continued to enjoy the favor of the Queen: he held his office as one of the Queen's men down to the time of her death, and in June, 1601, he was knighted by Elizabeth's own hand.²⁸

This year, 1601,—the very year which Robert Chester and the group of greater Elizabethans dedicated their poems to him,—marks the zenith in Sir John Salusbury's fortunes. Indeed, before the close of the year, we find him attacked by a circle of enemies in Denbighshire, whose hostility at length drove him from the Court and embittered the remaining years of his life. In September, 1601, the Queen sent to the High Sheriff of Denbighshire a writ directing that at the next County Court a knight and burgess should be chosen to represent the county in Parliament. At the same time Sir John Salusbury signified his intention of standing for election as knight of the shire. This was the signal for active plotting on the part of Sir John's enemies to prevent him from realizing his ambition. The leaders in this hostile movement were Sir John Lloyd of Llanrhayader and his brothers-in-law, Sir Richard Trevor of Trevallyn and Capt. John Salusbury, together with Thomas Trafford, Esq., of Treffordd in Esclusham. Their unfriendliness toward Salusbury probably had its origin in some neighborhood feud, though it may have been aggravated by political differences. Lloyd and Capt. Salusbury, at least, had been conspicuous among the adherents of Essex.²⁹ After the fall of Essex Capt.

²⁸ Ms. Diary of Robert Parry, p. 54: "In June Mr John Salusburie of lleweny being before sworne to be the Queens man was by her matie: knighted." See also the record of fees paid by Salusbury in connection with this ceremony, Christ Church ms. 184, fol. 49^b, as described below. It is singular that Sir John's name is omitted by Metcalfe, *Book of Knights*, and also by W. A. Shaw, *Knights of England* (1906).

²⁹ See the "Information concerning Sir John Lloyd" and others, *Hist. MSS. Com. Report on MSS. at Hatfield House, Part XI*, p. 96; in a letter dated Feb. 11, 1600/1, concerning the Essex conspirators, Capt. John Salusbury is mentioned as one of "these principal traitors" (*ibid.*, pp. 42-43).

Salusbury was arrested and imprisoned for several months for his part in the rebellion. He wrote repeatedly to Cecil imploring forgiveness for his error,³⁰ and at length was released on payment of a fine of £40.³¹ Quite aside from political controversies, however, there is abundant evidence of strained relations for several years previous between Sir Richard Trevor, Sir John Lloyd and Capt. Salusbury on the one hand, and the Thelwalls, with whom Sir John Salusbury was allied by his mother's fourth marriage,³² on the other hand.

Whatever the cause, there is no doubt that for several years before 1601 Sir John had been involved in animosities

³⁰ Letters dated July 16, 20 and 28, 1601 (*Hist. MSS. Com. Report on MSS. at Hatfield House, Part xi, pp. 287, 294 and 307*).

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 214.

³² Sir Richard Trevor had made complaint to the Star Chamber of riotous and violent actions committed by Edward Thelwall on Nov. 28, 1590. (Star Chamber Proceedings, Public Record Office, Elizabeth T $\frac{10}{32}$ and T $\frac{37}{15}$). In 1598, as appears from a letter written by Francis Bacon to the Secretary of Essex, one of the Thelwalls, a mercer, had caused the arrest of Capt. Salusbury for a debt of 100 marks (*Hist. MSS. Com. Report on MSS. at Hatfield House, Part viii, 355*). Charges of extortion and conspiracy were preferred against Sir John Lloyd and Capt. Salusbury before the Star Chamber by Robert Thelwall of Ruthin, near Denbigh, covering acts committed from 1596 to 1600 (Star Chamber Proceedings, Elizabeth T $\frac{7}{31}$ and T $\frac{24}{9}$ and T $\frac{36}{27}$). That Sir John Salusbury was directly interested in pressing these charges appears from his letter to Sir Robert Cecil, April 22, 1602, protesting indignantly against a postponement which had been granted to the defendants: "After my comming into the cuntry I doe find that my opposites have since complotted to worke an extraordinarie staie of a suite preferred in the Starr chambr a yeare and a half sithence by one Theleoll against Sr Joen Lloid, Capteyne Joen Salusburie & others of their faccion for redresse of former wronge practised against him, and others, and for sundry heynous oppressions and extorcions vppon the Cuntrey committed by them, by coolour of their former Capteine-shippes and offices." (Printed in substance, *Hist. MSS. Com. Report on MSS. at Hatfield House, Part xii, 118*.)

with some of the influential gentry of Denbighshire,³³ and that his adversaries now determined to defeat his election to Parliament. In the execution of their designs they were materially assisted by Owen Vaughan then High Sheriff of the County, who appears to have been the tool of Sir John's enemies. It was arranged that the election should take place not at Denbigh but at Wrexham, in the extreme eastern part of the county, where the adverse sentiment was strongest. The date fixed for the election was Oct. 21. When the day arrived Sir John found the streets of Wrexham patrolled by bands of armed men who had been assembled by his opponents, ostensibly to preserve the peace, but really to overawe the friends of Salusbury. Between 8 and 9 in the morning a clash occurred in the Wrexham churchyard between Sir John's party and the bands of his enemies, and thereupon the Sheriff, using this disorder as a convenient pretext, adjourned the session of the County Court, without holding any election whatever, to the great chagrin and mortification of Sir John, who was confident of receiving a majority of the votes even under these unfavorable conditions.

Our information concerning this affair at Wrexham is derived from accounts of it addressed to Sir Robert Cecil, and also from complaints and cross-complaints made by both parties to the Star Chamber, which undertook an investigation of the matter. The earliest account is that given by Sir John in a letter despatched to Cecil Oct. 24, only three days after the event. A facsimile reproduction of this letter³⁴ is presented herewith (see frontispiece); the substance of the letter has been printed by the Historical MSS. Commission.³⁵ Another letter to Cecil, written by

³³ Read in this connection Robert Chester's poem, "A poore sheapheard's profecye" (pp. 20-21 below). The "limping foxe" there mentioned may have been Trevor or Sir John Lloyd.

³⁴ *Cecil Papers*, Vol. 183, No. 67.

³⁵ Report on MSS. at Hatfield House, Part XI, 445-446. It is there stated to be a holograph, but only the signature appears to be in Salusbury's own hand.

Justice Lewknor a week later,³⁶ makes brief reference to the "great disorder" which had broken out in Denbighshire, in terms which are distinctly more judicial. But the most circumstantial account of the affair is to be found in the formal complaint which was addressed to the Queen by Sir John Salusbury.³⁷ The document, despite its tedious legal verbiage, possesses much interest on account of the lively details which it gives, particularly in the portion describing the assault upon Sir John in the Wrexham church-yard. The reader will find the larger portion of the text of this document in the Appendix.

It may perhaps be suspected that Sir John's account of the affair is not wholly unbiased. He was, we may well believe, too much of a Hotspur to stand so patiently on the defensive as he represents himself as doing. Those who wish to read the other side of the story will find it in the counter-complaint of Sir Richard Trevor against Sir John Salusbury and others.³⁸ But Trevor's narrative, on the whole, lacks the specific details which make Salusbury's version so convincing. Trevor supplies us with a long list of the supporters of Salusbury which is of interest chiefly to the local historian. The only name in the list which need be noted here is that of "Richard Parry of Henllan in the County of Denbigh gent." Richard, who is thus enrolled among Salusbury's friends, was the brother of Robert Parry the poet.

One sentence in Sir Richard Trevor's complaint is important on account of the light which it throws upon the question of Salusbury's attitude towards the Earl of Essex:

. . . . the said Sir John Salusburie sayd that he would take place of your subiect [*i. e.*, Sir Rich. Trevor] & Sr Jhon lloyde or elles he

³⁶ Printed in substance, *Hist. MSS. Com.*, *ibid.*, p. 460.

³⁷ Star Chamber Proceedings, Pub. Rec. Office, 44th year of Eliz., S⁵¹/₁₄

³⁸ Star Chamber Proceedings, Eliz. T³⁰.

would die for it, & that he held hymself a better man then he that knighted your subiect³⁹ & that the said Sr Jhon lloyd was knighted by a traytor.

The person at whom this second thrust was aimed is disclosed in an "Information concerning Sir John Lloyd" and others, dated February, 1600/1, which states that Lloyd had been "lately knighted in Ireland by the Earl of Essex, whom he followed in the late service there."⁴⁰

It is not altogether clear what action was taken in regard to the Wrexham riot by the Privy Council. On Nov. 5, 1601, the Council sent identical letters to Sir John Salusbury, Sir Richard Trevor and Sir John Lloyd, summoning them to the Court without delay to answer to their misdemeanors at the election riot.⁴¹ In the official membership roll of the Parliament of 1601 are entered for Denbighshire the names of Sir John Salusburye, Knt., and John Panton, gent.—both returned "16 Dec. 1601." This would look as though a second election was ordered shortly after the abortive election at Wrexham, and that this time Sir John gained his seat. Even if a second election was held it is certain that this did not terminate the inquiry by the Privy Council, for we find a series of depositions in regard to the outrage at Wrexham dated Feb. 20, 1601/2.⁴² Though the

³⁹ Sir Richard Trevor was knighted in the Glynes in 1597 by the Rt. Hon. Sir William Russell Knt., lord deputy general of Ireland.

⁴⁰ *Hist. MSS. Com.* Report on MSS. at Hatfield House, Part XI, 96. The statement in W. A. Shaw's *Knights of England* (1906) that Sir John Lloyd was knighted in Holland by the Earl of Leicester is, accordingly, incorrect.

⁴¹ *Acts of the Privy Council* 1601-4, pp. 342-3. In answer to these summons Trevor presented himself Nov. 20, Salusbury Nov. 23, and Lloyd Nov. 24.

⁴² "Examinatio Capt. 20 die ffebruary anno Mae Eliz. etc., 44," Star Chamber Proceedings, Eliz. T. ⁹/₃₁. The deponents, who were eye-witnesses of the fray in Wrexham church-yard, give many interesting details. Their testimony is on the side of Salusbury.

decision of the Privy Council has not been preserved, a passage in a letter written by Sir John Salusbury⁴³ suggests that the action which they took was far from satisfactory to him.

The feud in Denbighshire did not end with 1601, but seems rather to have increased in bitterness. On July 7, 1602, John Lewis Gwyn, a kinsman of Sir John Salusbury, was murdered by the partisans of his opponents.⁴⁴ Indictments were found by the Grand Jury at the following Michaelmas session against seven persons for this crime, among them being William Lloyd of Foxhall, son of John Lloyd, and also Foulke Lloyd, who ten years before had held the office of High Sheriff and who had been prominent in the attack upon Sir John Salusbury at Wrexham. The accused persons were not without influential friends and it was openly boasted that pardon would be secured for them. Conspicuous among those who exerted themselves on their behalf was Sir John's old enemy, Captain John Salusbury.⁴⁵ Between 1602 and 1604 Sir John wrote repeatedly to Cecil to secure his assistance in bringing to justice the murderers of his kinsman. A passage in one of these letters is of special interest as suggesting that in these factional strifes religious controversies played some part. Sir John declares of Foulke Lloyd, "that he is a knowne notorious Recusant and a harborer and mainteyner of Iesuites & Seminaries,

⁴³ Letter to Cecil from Lleweni, April 22, 1602: "I am bould to acquaint your Lo[rds]hip how that albeit I did yeld my self to the Lords, in regard of my alleagiance to her Maiestie and my dutie to their honours, to putt vp and beare with such private great iniuries donne by my aduersaries to me (which I must endure as I may) . . ." (*Cecil Papers*, Vol. 92, No. 149, printed in substance, *Hist MSS. Com.*, Report on MSS. at Hatfield House, Part XII, 118.)

⁴⁴ The exact date of Gwyn's murder is given in Robert Parry's diary. Parry also supplies the information that William Lloyd of Foxhall, one of the assassins, was the son of John Lloyd.

⁴⁵ See Sir John Salusbury's letter to Cecil Nov. 10, 1602, of which an abstract is printed (*Hist. MSS. Com.*, Report on MSS. at Hatfield House, Part XII, 467-8).

and is a member evell affected to the state and hath not receaved the Communion theis many yeres.”⁴⁶ This statement at the same time proves conclusively that Sir John himself did not share the religion of his unfortunate brother who was one of the Babington conspirators.

These letters from Salusbury to Cecil exhibit the relations of friendly confidence which existed between them and disclose the fact that Cecil more than once used his influence to protect Salusbury's interests.⁴⁷ On the other hand, it is plainly intimated in these letters that some of the Lords of the Privy Council were giving active support to Salusbury's enemies.⁴⁸

In these contentions Sir John Salusbury was involved when Elizabeth's reign came to an end. He at once took his departure from London and went down to his home, taking part at Denbigh in the public ceremony proclaiming the new King. It is clear that Sir John regarded his

⁴⁶ Cecil Papers, Hatfield House, Vol. 108, No. 9. One may refer in this connection to the letter of Justice Lewknor to Cecil Oct. 31, 1601, in which he makes mention of the recent activity of the Catholics in Shropshire and the borders of Wales (*Hist. MSS. Com.*, Report on MSS. at Hatfield House, Part XI, 460).

⁴⁷ “I received this day,” Lord Zouche, President of Wales, wrote to Cecil, Sept. 2, 1602, “a letter from you concerning Sir John Salsbury. If he will be ordered, I will do him all the kindness I may. It may be, I will go to the Assizes to see if I can make a friendship amongst them in that shire.” (*Hist. MSS. Com.*, Report on MSS. at Hatfield House, Part XII, 342). Salusbury wrote himself to Cecil Sept. 21 to thank him for his good offices with the Lord President (*ibid.*, p. 391). At another time, as appears from one of Salusbury's letters, Cecil wrote to the Lord Chancellor to secure a stay of the pardon which had been secured for Foulke Lloyd (Letter to Cecil, dated July 20, 1604, *Cecil Papers*, Vol. 106, No. 9).

⁴⁸ Letter from Sir John Salusbury to Cecil July 29, 1602: “I have been informed how some of the Lords are in hand to prefer their own late servants and followers to be the only deputy-lieutenants in this County, viz., Sir John Lloid, with Sir Richard Trevor, his brother-in-law” (*Hist. MSS. Com.*, Report on MSS. at Hatfield House, Part XII, 263).

absence from Court as only temporary, and expected to be appointed to some position in the service of King James.⁴⁹ But the appointment for which he waited never came, and there is no evidence that he ever returned to London. Moreover, he appears to have been harassed about this time by petty creditors and his enemies eagerly seized upon these embarrassments to discredit him to the King. These new troubles form the subject of a letter to Cecil dated June 26, 1609, which stands as a pathetic conclusion to this correspondence.

"I have bene informed," he writes, "that somme Aduersaries of myne (to wreake there malice againste me) have (of late) practized to incence the Kinges moste excellent matie of some disobedience in me to processes in lawe vpon somme matters of Suytes for small dettes, purposinge thereby to procure his highnes indignacion against me. I haue thoughte it meete in most humble maner to aduertize your gracious Lo[rdship] that I haue offred and am redie to make all reasonable satisfaccions to those that (of meere stomock) do prosecute against me, but nothinge wilbe accepted. And also that God hathe (of late) visited me with extreame Sickness for a longe tyme, both whiche have altogether impeded me from travaile to come and cleere my self of there surmized accusacions, whereby my said aduersaries tuke advantage to aggravate there complaintes againste me. If your Lo[rdship] do happen to finde that (by there sinister meanes) his highnes shold be possessed of any harde

⁴⁹ In a letter to Cecil dated April 15, 1603, Sir John explains his reasons for returning to Lleweni and signifies his readiness to undertake any employment in the service of the King. "And not being called vpon by your honor," he continues, somewhat anxiously it would seem, "I am at this tyme bowlde to sygnyffy vnto you the contynuaunce of my dutyfull love towards your honor, humbly praying your honor that I may heare ffrom you, whyther yt ys your pleasure that I shulde make my repayre to attend your honor" (*Cecil Papers*, Vol. 187, No. 29).

Opinion of me, my humble desire & petition is that (by your Lo[rds]hip's] honorable meanes) there be no further Credit geuen to suche my Calumniatours vntill it shall please God to restore vnto me such parte of healthe as I may be able to travell & to purge my self, which shalbe performed as soone as my estate of Body will permitte."⁵⁰

It does not appear that Sir John ever recovered his health. During the next three years I find no information concerning him, and then comes abruptly the record of his death, which occurred July 24, 1612. For the precise date of his death we are indebted to an entry in the Journal of Peter Roberts of St. Asaph.⁵¹ In his memorandum Roberts adds that, according to report, Sir John's body was buried the same night. But no reference to a nocturnal burial occurs in the entry in the Bodfari Parish Register:

John Salusbury, Knight, heyre of the house of Lleweny was interred & buried in whitechurch vpon St James day, being the .25. day of July [1612].

No record of Sir John's will has been found, but at Somerset House, under date 1619, is recorded the release of certain claims against the estate by two creditors⁵² in which one may see further evidence of the financial difficulties in which he was involved toward the close of his life.

He was survived by his wife Ursula, who apparently did not die until 1636,⁵³ by one son, Henry, who several years before had followed his father's example in entering the

⁵⁰ *Cecil Papers*, Vol. 195, No. 106.

⁵¹ *Y Cwitta Cyfarwydd: The Chronicle written by the Famous Clarke, Peter Roberts, notary public, for the years 1607-1646, etc.*, London, 1883, p. 35.

⁵² Sentences, fol. 116, Parker, 1619: "*Sententia absolutoris in causa [Wm] Davies et [Thos] Johnson contra [Henry] Salisbury.*"

⁵³ See Grosart, p. xii. The statement in Burke's *Peerage* that Ursula Salusbury died in 1591 is clearly an error: see, for example, the reference to Ursula in the lines by Bernard Jones (No. xxv) which bear the date 1596.

Middle Temple,⁵⁴ and who was created a baronet Nov. 10, 1619, and by three daughters: (1) Jane, who married Thomas Price of Plas-yolyn, (2) Oriana, who married John Parry of Twysog, (3) Arabella, who married John Johnes of Halkyn.⁵⁵

II. THE CONTENTS OF THE CHRIST CHURCH MANUSCRIPTS

In the library of Christ Church, Oxford, are preserved two MSS.—Nos. 183 and 184—which were evidently at one time the property of the Salusburys of Lleweni. The major portion of the contents of either volume consists of Welsh verse composed by various bards in praise of members of the Salusbury family. An examination of the names and dates of these poems shows that all of them were written within the life-time of Sir John Salusbury—and many of them were composed in his honor. In addition to this Welsh poetry these volumes contain a considerable body of material in English: copies of letters, medical recipes, and finally—what is of special interest to us—a series of English poems. Practically all of this English material is contemporary with Sir John Salusbury—the sole exception being the copy, in MS. 183, of a letter from Charles I. dated 1625.

I present herewith a list of the contents of these two manuscripts.

Christ Church MS. 183.

- | | |
|-----------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| fol. 3-4. | Two leaves printed on one side only, on which an early hand has written the date 1596. |
| fol. 3 ^b . | “Sundrie necessarie obseruations, meete for a Christian”; in prose, 21 points in all. |

⁵⁴ He was admitted Nov. 27, 1607; see Hopwood, *Middle Temple Records*, II, 486.

⁵⁵ Burke's *Peerage*, London, 1862, p. 935.

- fol. 4^a. A printed poem of 30 lines entitled: "Certaine necessarie obseruations for Health" [= No. xx in ms. 184].
- fol. 5^a. Apothecaries' weights and measures.
- fol. 5^b. "The explication of all the weights and measures which commonly are vsed in Phisicke."
- fol. 6^a-8^b. "Certaine receites for my Honorable good freinde Sr John Salusbury knight."
- fol. 9^a. (in another hand). A recipe for an oil which will heal any wound however dangerous, "sent by Gabriell Dennys from Rome." At the foot of the page: "Sic vale, George Stanley." [See also Christ Church ms. 184, fol. 79].
- fol. 9^b-11^b. More recipes, for various ills.
- fol. 12^a. Copy of a letter by "Sr Henry Sydney, knight of the order and Lord President of Wales, & then Lord deputie of Ireland, wrytinge to his yonge sonne Mr Phē Sydney."
- fol. 12^b. A shorter letter from "The Ladie marie Sydney" to the same.
- fol. 13^a. Copy of "A letter of the Lorde Keapers to the Earle of Essex, Earle Marshall of Englande."
- fol. 13^b-14^b. (wrongly numbered 15). The Earl of Essex's reply.
- fol. 15^b. Copies of two letters by Sir Walter Raleigh, (1) to King James, (2) to Sir Robert Carre.
- fol. 16^b. Copy of a letter from Charles I. dated Aug. 13, 1625. Inc: "Right trusty and right beloved Cousin we greete you well."
- fol. 17. More recipes.
- fol. 18-19. Blank.

Here follows a series of seven Welsh poems, each one headed: "Moliant Sion Salusburi Escwair wy'r ac aer Sr Shion Salusburi Marchog vrddol o Leweni a Siamberlen gwynedd," *i. e.*: In praise of John Salusbury Esquire,

grandson and heir of Sir John Salusbury of Lleweni, worthy Knight, and Receiver of North Wales.

- | | |
|-----------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|
| fol. 20 ^a . | (1) By Simwnt Vachan. |
| fol. 21 ^a . | (2) By Shion Mawddwy, dated April 15, 1593. |
| fol. 22 ^b . | (3) By Shion Tudur, dated "Myhelm 3, 1593." |
| fol. 23 ^b . | (4) By Huw Machno, dated, as the preceding. |
| fol. 24 ^b . | (5) By Wiliam Cynwal. |
| fol. 25 ^b . | (6) By John Phylp. |
| fol. 26 ^b . | (7) By Robert Ilan. |
| fol. 27 ^b -92 ^b . | Blank. |

The leaves which follow are numbered in a new series, beginning with 1.

- | | |
|-----------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| fol. 8 ^b . | The Salusbury crest, surmounted with the motto: "Posse et nolle nobile." |
| fol. 9 ^a . | Sir John Salusbury's arms marshalled, with separate figures of a Saracen's head and a lion's head in the upper corners of the page. Beneath the arms is a scroll with the motto: "Posse et nolle nobile." |
| fol. 9 ^b -20 ^b . | Blank. |
| fol. 21. | Copy of a letter, "To y ^e right honourable Charles, Earle of Notingham," etc. It relates to Newfoundland. |
| fol. 22 ^a -28 ^b . | Blank. |

A series of Welsh poems, in praise of Sir John Salusbury of Lleweni, except as otherwise stated:

- | | |
|------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| fol. 29 ^a . | By Gruffyd Hafren. |
| fol. 31 ^a . | By Huw Machno. |
| fol. 33 ^a . | By Ed. Wienn (a half-brother of Sir John Salusbury). |
| fol. 35 ^b . | By "H. Ph." |
| fol. 37 ^a . | By Sion Evans, in praise of Henry son of Sir John Salusbury. At the end is the date, Christmas 1607; on the margin has been written: "xx ^o decembris A ^o salutis 1608." |

- fol. 39^b. By R. Kyffin, dated Christmas, 1607.
 fol. 41^a. By Thomas Pennllyn, dated as the preceding.
 fol. 42^b. By Sion Kain, dated as the preceding.
 fol. 44^a. By Gruffydd Hafrenn, dated as the preceding.
 fol. 46^a. By Robert llyn, dated as the preceding.
 fol. 47^b. By Richard Phillip, dated Easter, 1608.
 fol. 49^b. By Huw Pennant, dated Christmas.
 fol. 51^a. By Rys Kain, in praise of Mr Harry Salusbury, son and heir of Sir John Salusbury Knight; dated 1608.
 fol. 52^b. By Sion Kain.
 fol. 54^b. By "H. Ph."
 fol. 56^a. By Sion Kain, in praise of Sir Harry Salusbury of Lleweni, Knight and Baronet.
 fol. 57^b. By Sion Kain; an elegy upon Mr John Salusbury second son of Sir John Salusbury, Knight.
 fol. 59^b. Blank.
 fol. 60^a. By Sion Kain; an elegy upon Mr Ferdinando Salusbury, fourth son of Sir John Salusbury of Lleweni, Knight.
 fol. 61^b-71^b. Blank.
 fol. 72^a. Welsh verses without heading; at the end (fol. 73^a) stands the name, "Sion Cain."
 fol. 73^a. Eight lines of Welsh verse by "Rees ap Iohn."
 fol. 73^b. "An Englishe Copie of the pardon granted by Kinge James, 24 July A^o primo of his Raigne of England, 1603."
 fol. 76^b. Copy of a legal document dated 15th. of Henry VIII., relating to a mill at Esclusham.
 fol. 78^b. (wrongly numbered 77). A few lines of Welsh verse over the name "Wliam nathe."

Christ Church MS. 184.

- fol. i-ii. Fly-leaves containing much scribbling, some of it in Sir John Salusbury's hand. On fol. i^b occurs this distich:—

Who seeketh other men to insnare
nets for him selfe he doth prepare
finis J. S.

On the same page are eight lines of Welsh verse subscribed "finis Thomas lewis," and two Welsh quatrains by "Mistres bankes." On fol. ii are scraps of Welsh verse subscribed: "hugh ap Wylliam," "hughe machin," "J. T." (*i. e.*, John Tudder of Llanefydd), "William Kynwal," "John Mowthwy," "Hughe llivon."

fol. 1. The title-page in Welsh in the hand of William Kynwal.⁵⁶

fol. 1^b. Following eight lines of Welsh verse, two English quatrains:—

I Count his quonquest great
that Cann by reson stil
Subdu affexions his heat
and bridel wanton will.

J. S. [in Salusbury's hand]

I woulde I once might see in you
such reason for to raingne
wch conquer myght your Apeatite
booth winn you fame and gayne.

finis V. S. [Vrsula Salusbury?]

fol. 2. Here begins the Pedigree of Catharine of Berain, in Welsh, written by William Kynwal of Penmachno.

Following the pedigree are various recipes, etc.

fol. 22^a. On the top margin, a Latin distich partly trimmed away by the binder, and an English paraphrase:—

furst stop the cause too late doth phisick come
When euills small to great (by sufferance) runne.
finis J. Salusbury 1592.

fol. 34-35. English poems; text printed—Nos. I and II.

⁵⁶ See below, the description of fol. 89-174.

- fol. 36-38. Medical recipes.
- fol. 39^a. Titles of three documents among the Patent Rolls of Henry VII., relating to official appointments held by Salusbury's ancestors.
- fol. 40. Verses by Ben Jonson (holograph)—No. III.
- fol. 41^a. Verses (in Robert Chester's hand?)—No. IV.
- fol. 42^a. The arms of Sir John Salusbury marshalled, with his monogram above and a scroll below bearing the motto: "Ní thry Angaù fy medawl. J. S." The meaning of the motto seems to be: Death does not turn aside my purpose.
- fol. 43^a-49^a. Poems, the most of them by Robert Chester; text printed—Nos. V-XIX.
- fol. 49^b. "ffees due to be paid by all Knightes made by her matie Q. to the officers of her maties chambr as followeth this note being laid downe by m^r Braconburie & m^r Conwey gentlemen vshers, and paid to their handes for all by S^r John Salusburie, Knight, 1601." The sum total is £11. 13s. 4d. At the foot is Salusbury's autograph. On the lower portion of the page, in the same hand, are written verses of Scripture in English, viz: *Prov.* 25: 26-28; 26: 4-5.

Here follows a series of Welsh poems all addressed to Sir John Salusbury except as otherwise noted:

- fol. 51. Kowydd (*i. e.*, poem) by Thomas Penllyn.
- fol. 53. Kowydd by Rhys Dwnn.
- fol. 54. Kowydd, to the sons of Sir John Salusbury, by Rhys Dwnn.
- fol. 56-57. (two inserted leaves). Kowydd, to Jesus Christ, by David Llwyd Mothe.
- fol. 58. An imperfect poem, dated 1602.
- fol. 60. Kowydd by Richard Philip.
- fol. 61. Awdl (*i. e.*, ode) by Elis Rhydderch, dated 1602.

- fol. 63. Kowydd by Dafydd Goch.
 fol. 64. Kowydd by Gruffyd Hafren.
 fol. 66. Awdl by Sion Mawddn.
 fol. 67. Kowydd by Morus Berwyn.
 fol. 69. Awdl by "Gr. Rh."
 fol. 70. Kowydd by Simwnt Vychan.
 fol. 72. Kowydd by the same.
 fol. 74. Kowydd by Robert Evans.
 fol. 77^b. An English poem in beautiful lettering by
 a professional scribe, with Salusbury's auto-
 graph at the top—No. XX. At the bottom
 of the page several proverbs of Solomon in
 Salusbury's hand.

- fol. 78^b. Covered with scribbled rhymes in several
 hands, among them being Salusbury's. The
 following lines are in the same hand which
 wrote Nos. XXVI, XXVIII, and XXIX:

all is hazard that we have
 there is nothinge bidinge
 dayes of pleasures at [*sic*] but stremes,
 through faire medowes s[liding]
 weale or woe time doth goe
 in tyme no returninge
 secrete fates giudes [*sic*] our states,
 both in mirth & moorninge.

- fol. 79^a. "An oyle of Aparisio, a Spanyard which
 hadd of the Kinge a verrie greate pension,
 to hym and his wyfe for inventinge the
 same, to heale any wounde, be it neuer so
 daungerous. Sent by Gabriell Dennys from
 Rome." Signed at the end: "george stan-
 ley." [See also Christ Church ms. 183,
 fol. 9^a].

- fol. 81^b. More scribbles of verses in various hands.
 One quatrain is in Salusbury's hand:

He plowes the skyes and fishes for the winde
 and sowes his seede vpon the barren sande
 that puttes great trust or seekes good happ to fynd
 In any fickel waveringe woemans hand.

J. S.

In the hand which wrote XXVI, XXVIII,
and XXIX:—

Whose brused barke the wawes in twayen doo tosse
delytes no more in surge of sees to daunsse
And he that once hath suffred shypwrackes losse
doth learne at laste to shonne the licke myschaunce
the fishe that feles and scapes the flatering bayte
will all wayes feare to fynd the lycke decete.

Other rhyming lines (in different hands)
are the following:—

Faith woemens love is but an appetite
or att the best, but humor or a passion
the [they?] weare affection as the weare a fashion.
J. S.

Our love from an imperious bouldnes nere can
sunder
We love them most yt most will keepe vs vnder.
S. V.

Though thus I yield lett nott your passion waste
She ytes most coy is ever fownd most chaste.
H. H.

fol. 82-83^a.

Verses by Danielle; text printed—Nos. XXI
and XXII. Along the side margins of fol.
82^a are two quatrains in different hands:—

most woemen suer ar feeckel and vnkynd
thear thoughtes doth vary oftener then the wind
but yeat sum ar most constant & most true
but thoes be Rare, my fayth assuereth you
finis J. A. (?)

good god be allwayes my defence
and sylde me from all yll,
defende mee from my enimies
And from ther Raginge will.

finis J. S.

fol. 83^b.

Verses by Hughe Gryphyth; text printed—
No. XXIII. These verses are written on a
sheet of smaller size which has been pasted
upon this page in the book. Below the

- English lines is a quatrain in Welsh, in another hand.
- fol. 84. Verses headed "J. S. his amasement"; text printed—No. XXIV. This leaf, of different size and paper from the others, has been bound into the book at this point.
- fol. 86^b. Latin acrostic verses; text printed—No. XXV. At the foot of the page, four lines in Welsh with the signature, "Llewys Dwnn, 1596."
- fol. 87^a. An acrostic poem; text printed—No. XXVI.
- fol. 87^b. "Poysies" on the occasion of Salusbury's marriage; text printed—No. XXVII.
- fol. 88. Two acrostic poems in the same hand as No. XXVI; text printed—Nos. XXVIII and XXIX.
- fol. 89-174. are in the hand of William Kynwal and consist entirely of Welsh poems, by a number of poets, in praise of the ancestors of Catherine of Berain and her first and second husbands, Mr. John Salusbury and Sir Richard Clough. The last in the series is a poem by Kynwal in praise of Catherine of Berain herself.
- fol. 174-199^b. contain a series of fourteen elegies upon Catherine of Berain, the first three in Latin, the next three in English and the rest in Welsh. See Nos. XXX-XXXV.
- On the lower portion of fol. 178^b is the following entry in Sir John Salusbury's hand:—
- | | |
|--------------------------------------|---------------|
| God tooke to his mercy the sole | Jane |
| of my deare syster Jane wynn wife | Theloall |
| to Mr Symon Theloall Sunday | deceased |
| beinge the eleuenth daye of maye | the 11th daye |
| in the yeaere of our lorde god 1606. | of maye 1606. |
- fol. 200-300. contain a long list of Welsh poems, addressed to various members of the Salusbury family; also several addressed to Jesus Christ. The earlier poems in this series are composed in praise of Mr. John Salusbury the first hus-

band of Catherine of Berain. On fol. 267 and fol. 276 are two poems in honor of Ursula, the wife of Sir John Salusbury. The latter piece is signed by "Edward bryn llys."

fol. 300^b. (a fly-leaf) contains two distiches in the hand of Sir John Salusbury:—

who labores that to bringe to passe
that cannot be is but an asse.

wth sum light thinge when thow needes most
trie thy frend before thow trust.

From this list of the contents of the two Salusbury mss. it will be seen that the material directly relating to our present inquiry is confined to ms. 184. The original portion of this volume was written by the well-known bard, William Kynwal of Penmachno.⁵⁷ In his preface he states that he began his task, at the request of Catherine of Berain, in the year 1570. Since it contains no mention of Morris Wynn we may conclude that Kynwal's compilation was completed before Catherine's marriage to her third husband. Kynwal has embellished his portion of the manuscript by heading the several poems with colored drawings of the family arms—either the white lion of the Salusbury or the Saracen's head of Catherine's house. After the death of Catherine of Berain in 1591 the volume was continued by adding a series of elegies celebrating her memory, as well as several poems in honor of her first husband—John Salusbury, Esq., father of our Sir John Salusbury—and also a number of miscellaneous compositions.

Finally, between the pedigree of Catherine and the first of the series of poems commemorating her ancestors (fol. 89) one finds a quantity of miscellaneous material, prose and verse, written in both English and Welsh. Of these leaves,

⁵⁷ Kynwal died in 1587; cf. *Hist. MSS. Com. Report on Welsh MSS. I.* 1034.

fols. 34-41 and 82-84 were originally loose sheets which have since been collected and bound into the volume in their present position. This portion of the manuscript, indeed, seems to be a family scrap-book into which were gathered pieces of verse, recipes, memoranda and idle scribbings. The fact that nearly everything in this miscellany is directly connected in some way with Sir John Salusbury, and that the latest date which appears is 1606 (in the entry in which Sir John records the death of his sister) would indicate that this material was inserted in the volume during Sir John's life, probably under his personal supervision.

These leaves have been written by a number of hands, most of which cannot be identified. The verses by Ben Jonson (see below No. III)—originally written upon a loose sheet—are in the poet's own hand. The subscription, "finis quoth Danielle," at the end of Nos. XXI and XXII has been added by another hand. Neither the hand of the text nor that of the signatures appears elsewhere in the ms. The "Danielle" of these pieces may possibly be Samuel Daniel, but on the whole this appears to me altogether unlikely.^{57a}

Though Salusbury's characteristic signature (see frontispiece), or at least his initials, are appended to a number of poems, in most cases it would seem that the text itself was written by another hand—as is the case with his letter to Cecil reproduced above. The clearest example of a poem written by Salusbury's own hand is No. XV, on the lower half of fol. 47, of which a rotographic reproduction is presented herewith.

The hand which appears most frequently in these leaves is Robert Chester's. All the poems to which Chester's name is attached, with the single exception of the Blanch Wynn

^{57a} These pieces were written after the death of Vrsula Salusbury's father, the fourth Earl of Derby (see below, xxii, lines 9-10), which occurred in 1593. His son Ferdinando, the fifth Earl, died in 1594 and was succeeded by his brother William. It is not certain which brother is the one referred to by Danielle.

1811

Cometo

47

47

I have read a few lines on your
 And to express that and many
 And by consequence it follows
 To be as small as the hand
 And with that you will find in the
 All left to you but finding words
 And it will be as if you were
 To go upon a hill at noon

ms John G. Jones

A Cometo to the former

A soft sweet sapped that by chance does light
 into the Imperial eagle in your flight
 and gainst all nations in your most dark blood
 and all the world for his song and food
 Had this great power all the world's mind,
 It must be for little with a few kind
 Having no name but given by the name
 in the sound and no by the name
 for having stole a name from you
 will is his coat by the name of
 soft hardy word did he his hand
 that in his foot with his simple
 But now a great bird with his light
 do he his wings his feathers and colour
 and with his wings he will not mount so high
 but fall into the cage of

ms J. G. Jones

ms J. G. Jones

acrostic (No. VI), are written and signed by his own hand. In addition to these, Nos. IV, VII, XIV and XVIII appear to be in his hand, as well as fol. 49^b containing the memorandum of fees paid at the knighting of Salusbury. Chester writes not only the familiar national hand most frequently used by Elizabethan scribes, but also the Italian hand. Sometimes (as in Nos. VII and XVII) he begins a piece in the Italian and completes it in the national script. Again, in No. X, which is written in the national script, he employs the Italian hand for the flower-names—both on the margin and in the text. A specimen of Chester's national hand may be seen in the short poem at the top of fol. 47^a (reproduced above in facsimile).

No less than nine of the poems here printed from Christ Church ms. 184 contain acrostics. In Nos. V and VI we find the name of Blanch Wynn, who (as noted below) was the wife of Edward Wynn, Sir John Salusbury's half-brother. In No. XXV (a Latin poem in praise of Sir John) the acrostic letters spell IOHANNES SALVSBVRIVS. But far the most frequent are the DOROTHY HALSALL acrostics. Her name appears alone in Nos. VIII, IX, XXVI, XXVIII, and XXIX, and in No. X it occurs joined with IOHN SALVSBVRY in an ingenious double acrostic.⁵⁸ Moreover, in the lyrics addressed to her a warmth of passion appears which suggests that Sir John found her a thoroughly fascinating person.

Dorothy was a natural daughter of Henry Stanley, fourth Earl of Derby, by Jane Halsall of Knowsley,⁵⁹ and was accordingly a sister-in-law of Sir John Salusbury. She married Cuthbert Halsall, Esq., of Halsall and Clifton, Lancashire, by whom she had two daughters: Ann, who became the wife of Thomas Clifton, Esq., of Westby, and

⁵⁸ A somewhat similar use of the double acrostic is to be noted in one of the poems by Humphrey Gifford (1580) edited by Dr. Grosart, *Miscellanies of The Fuller Worthies' Library*, I. 315-317.

⁵⁹ *Victorian Co. Hist. of Lancashire*, as cited above, p. xiii, note 18.

Bridget, who married Thomas Crompton, Esq.⁶⁰ Cuthbert Halsall was Justice of the Peace in 1595,⁶¹ an office which he held for a number of years. He was knighted at Dublin, July 22, 1599, being apparently in the suite of the Earl of Essex,⁶² and in 1601 he was High Sheriff of Lancashire.⁶³ In 1605 he was a recusant, and the profits of his forfeitures as such were assigned to Sir Thomas Mounson.⁶⁴ In Jan. 1624/5, we find record of an effort to restore to him his ancient inheritance⁶⁵ but it is doubtful whether the attempt succeeded, for in 1628 he was again certified as a recusant.⁶⁶

I find no record of the year of his death, but it is clear that his wife survived him, for in 1632 and 1633 "Dame Dorothy" appears in certain legal documents as his widow and executrix.⁶⁷

From these facts in the life of Sir Cuthbert Halsall, however, we get no information concerning the relations of Dorothy Halsall and Sir John Salusbury. The Halsall acrostics printed in the Parry volume show that Sir John's infatuation for his sister-in-law began before 1597, but we have no means of knowing how long it continued. Several allusions in the poems addressed to her make it clear that she was already married. In view of Sir John's unfriendliness toward the followers of Essex it is a bit odd to find that Dorothy's husband was of the Essex party and a recusant as well.

⁶⁰ Josiah Rose, *Lancashire and Cheshire Histor. and Genealog. Notes*, I. (1879), 261.

⁶¹ *Hist. MSS. Com. Report* XIV, App. Part IV, 583.

⁶² Metcalfe, *Book of Knights*, p. 209.

⁶³ *Acts of the Privy Council*, 1600-1, p. 256.

⁶⁴ *Victorian Co. Hist. of Lancashire*, III, 195.

⁶⁵ *Hist. MSS. Com. Report* XII, App. Part I, 181.

⁶⁶ *Hist. MSS. Com. Report* XIII, App. Part I, 1.

⁶⁷ *Victor. Co. Hist. of Lancashire* III. 196, footnote; also *Calendar of Lancash. and Cheshire Exchequer Depositions by Commission*, ed. Caroline Fishwick, Lanc. and Chesh. Record Soc. XI (1885), p. 24.

For our present purpose the most important contribution made by this collection of poems in the Christ Church ms. consists in the new light which they throw upon the relations between Sir John Salusbury and Robert Chester. The discussion of these Chester poems and their bearing upon the problem of *Loves Martyr* may, however, be taken up more conveniently after we have considered the series of poems by Salusbury preserved in the Parry volume.

III. THE SALUSBURY POEMS IN THE PARRY VOLUME

The other collection of Salusbury poems, which is presented in the following pages, is included in a small 12mo volume of verse, which bears upon the title-page the name "Robert Parry, Gent." Parry was himself of Denbighshire, and owed friendly allegiance to the house of Lleweli.⁶⁸ It will be remembered that he contributed an elegy on the death of Sir John's mother, Catherine of Berain.⁶⁹ Of his personal history we know but little, though our information will be materially increased by the publication of his Diary.⁷⁰ Parry seems to have travelled somewhat widely: he made repeated visits to London,⁷¹ and in 1600 he made a six-months' journey to Italy. His friends spoke of him respectfully as a man of learning. In 1595 Parry published a prose novel,—interspersed after the fashion of the day with nu-

⁶⁸ It may be noted that Robert Parry's brother, Richard, married Blanche, daughter of Edward Thelwall, Sir John Salusbury's stepfather; and that their son, John Parry, married Oriana Salusbury, daughter of Sir John.

⁶⁹ Christ Church ms. 184, fol. 179; see below, p. 41.

⁷⁰ The ms. of Parry's Diary is in the possession of Col. T. A. Wynne Edwards of Plas Nantglyn. An edition of it is being prepared by A. Foulkes-Roberts, Esq., of Denbigh.

⁷¹ In his Diary he speaks of witnessing the Queen's procession in state to St. Paul's, Nov. 24, 1588, "beinge within on moneth after my comynge to London the second tyme." Again he mentions being at the Court at Windsor in the 35th year of Elizabeth.

merous lyrics,⁷²—to which he gave the title, *Moderatus, the most delectable and famous Historie of the Black Knight*, and which he dedicated, “To the right Worshipfull / And his singvlar good Master, / Henry Townshend, Esquire, one of her Maiesties Iustices of / Assise of the countie Pallatine of Chester, and one of / her Highnesse honourable Counsell, established / in the marches and principality of Wales.”

Two years later appeared the little book of poems with which we are at present concerned. The only surviving copy of this book is now in the library of S. R. Christie-Miller, Esq., at Britwell Court. The title-page is as follows:—

SINETES
 Passions vppon his fortunes,
 offered for an Incense at the
 shrine of the Ladies which gui-
 ded his distempered
 thoughtes.
 The Patrons patheticall Po-
 sies, Sonets, Maddrigals, and
 Roundelayses. Together with
 Sinetes Dompe.
Plena verecundi culpa pudoris erat.
 By ROBERT PARRY.
 Gent.
 At LONDON.
 Printed by T. P. for William
 Holme, and are to be sould on
 Ludgate hill at the signe of
 the holy Lambe.
 1597.

The first three pages (Sig. A 2–A 3 recto) contain Parry’s poem dedicating the volume—

To the right worshipfull John
 Salisburie of Lleweni Esquier
 for the Bodie to the Queenes
 most excellent Maiestie.

⁷² The first of these has been reprinted in *Censura Literaria*, x, 311.

These verses (ten 6-line stanzas) have been reprinted by Dr. Grosart.⁷³ Next comes a series of brief commendatory poems signed as below:

Sig. A 3 verso "Vppon the Authors muse," signed, "Hu. Gry."

Sig. A 4 verso "In prayse of the Booke," signed, "H. P. gentleman."

Sig. A 5 recto "In prayse of the Booke," signed, "W. R. Gent."

Sig. A 5 verso "In prayse of the Booke," signed, "H. P. Gent."

Sig. A 6 recto "In prayse of the Booke," signed, "T. S. Esq."

Sig. A 6 verso "In prayse of the Booke," signed, "R. S. Esq."

Sig. A 7 recto "In prayse of the Booke," signed, "W. M. Esq."

The "Passions," which form the main division of the book, begin on the following page (Sig. A 7 verso). They are forty-six in number, each occupying a single page. An examination of these "Passions" discloses the curious fact that they are arranged so as to form acrostics. Reading their initial letters, one finds that they spell three names: FRANSIS WYLOWGHEY, ELYZABETH WOLFRESTON, ROBERT PARRY. The appearance of these names might at first suggest that the "Passions" were the result of collaboration by these three persons. Against such a supposition, however, is the statement on the title-page: "Sinetes Passions vppon *his* fortunes." The meaning of "Sinetes" is a puzzle, but it plainly stands for one person and not three. The title-page informs us further that the author offers these Passions "for an Incense at the shrine of the Ladies which guided his distempered thoughtes." What is more natural, then, than

⁷³ Introduction to Chester's *Loves Martyr*, pp. xxiv-xxv.

that Parry should couple with his own name in the acrostics the names of these ladies? Accordingly, we may safely conclude that the ladies who inspired these Passions were Frances Willoughby⁷⁴ and Elizabeth Wolfreton.

The former, by an extremely plausible conjecture, may be identified as Frances, the sixth and youngest daughter of Sir Francis Willoughby of Wollaton Hall, Notts. The early life of Frances Willoughby was made most unhappy by the harsh and unnatural treatment which she and her sisters received from her mother.⁷⁵ Finding life at home insupportable, Frances, who was a high-spirited girl, at length ran away in company with Mr. John Drake, who took her to the home of his uncle Richard Drake. To her father, for whom she still cherished sincere affection, she despatched a letter explaining her action. In this letter she declared, "that her mother's cruelty to her had forced her to take this course, and tho' she was sensible she ought not to accuse her mother, yet now such was her offence that only her mother's wrongs could render her excusable and his knowing that she never used to displease him. She writ that Mr. Drake used her with great respect and took care to preserve her reputation and that her intention was to live for some time in his uncle Richard Drake's house, whose wife had an extraordinary good character, and there she hoped to carry herself so well as to merit his pleasure."⁷⁶ The date of Frances Willoughby's departure from home is not recorded, but it must have been before 1594, the year of her mother's

⁷⁴ The discrepancy between "Fransis" and "Frances" will trouble no one who is familiar with the vagaries of Elizabethan spelling.

⁷⁵ Our chief source of information concerning the Willoughby family is the Collections made in 1702 by Cassandra Willoughby, who had access to many letters and private papers which are no longer extant. These have been printed with some abridgments by the *Hist. MSS. Com.* in the Report on the mss. at Wollaton Hall (1911).

⁷⁶ Quoted from Cassandra Willoughby's Collections, *Hist. MSS. Com.* Report on mss. at Wollaton Hall, p. 607.

death, and it probably was within two or three years of that date. She remained under the protection of the Drakes for several years and probably until her marriage to Montague Wood of Lambley, Notts, an event which occurred before May, 1600.⁷⁷

It must be confessed that we lack any positive evidence of Robert Parry's acquaintance with the runaway daughter of Sir Francis Willoughby. At the same time the dates, the circumstances, and the character of the young lady make this identification in every way an attractive conjecture. Concerning Elizabeth Wolfreston, the other lady whom Parry names, I can find no information. Wolfreston is the name of a family which was connected a little later with the Manor of Preese, Amounderness Hundred, Lancashire.⁷⁸ Again there was a Capt. Wolverstone who served in Ireland in the Essex campaign.⁷⁹ But it should also be noted that according to the Visitations of the Co. of Nottingham in Harl. ms. 1400, Wollaton, the seat of Sir Francis Willoughby, is spelled "Wolverton."

This digression in pursuit of the ladies named in Robert Parry's acrostics would hardly have been pertinent to our present inquiry were it not for the fact that the acrostics, FRANCIS WILOWBI, ELIZABETH WOLFRESTONE and ROBERT PARRYE meet us again in a poem which will be discussed presently, and with them in this case are joined DOROTHI HALSALL and IOHN SALESBVRYE. The association of these names in the same poem suggests at least that Salusbury, too,

⁷⁷ As shown by a letter from Wood to Abigail Willoughby, Frances's sister, dated May 14, 1600 (*ibid.*, p. 170). In this letter Wood makes a scandalous report of his wife's behavior, but his testimony is discounted to some extent by the ill character given him by Cassandra Willoughby, who speaks in strong terms of his cruel treatment of his wife (*Loc. cit. supra*).

⁷⁸ See ms. of the House of Lords, *Hist. MSS. Com. Report III*, App. p. 30^a.

⁷⁹ *Hist. MSS. Com. Report on mss. at Hatfield House, Part ix, 146, 330.*

may have enjoyed acquaintance with the ladies who inspired Parry's "Passions."

We are ready at length to examine "the Patrone's" portion of Robert Parry's volume, which immediately follows the "Passions," headed by a separate title-page (see below, p. 46). Dr. Grosart noted the occurrence of these poems, clearly marked off in this manner from the other contents of the volume, and he remarks concerning them: "it is just barely possible (though I confess improbable) that Sir John Salisburie is their author" (p. xvii). Had he recognized the acrostics which they contain his joy would have been full, for these supply positive proof of Salusbury's authorship. A more remarkable series of acrostic verses never existed outside the dreams of the most ardent Baconian. In reprinting these poems herewith I have displayed the acrostic letters in bold-face type lest some of them should elude the reader's eye—indeed I am not certain that I have caught all of them myself. Posie I. presents us again with the name DOROTHY HALSAL—already thoroughly familiar to us through the Christ Church ms. In Posie II. we have the same name spelled backwards. In Posie III. we find (also in reverse order) the three names: DOROTHY CVTBERT halsall—the last being formed of the terminal letters immediately preceding the caesura.⁸⁰ The three names are explained when one remembers that Sir John's sister-in-law married Cuthbert Halsall. Finally, it is to be noted that the first and last words in the last line of this Posie give us Salusbury's initials: "I. S."

Posie IIII. is easily the most complicated in the series, and requires more detailed examination. In the first place the title, "The Patrons pauze in ode," suggests that this piece interrupts the series of Salusbury poems. In my opinion when the Patron paused Robert Parry resumed.

⁸⁰ It was the vigilant eye of Professor W. A. Neilson which first detected the "halsall," after these poems were already in type.

For note that the last lines of the stanzas, which together spell JOHN SALESBURY, may be read independently of their context as seven short couplets, and that when thus read they appear to be *addressed to* Salusbury and not written by him. In particular, "Hope of our time," at the end of stanza 3 reads like an echo of the first line of Parry's dedicatory poem, in which Salusbury is addressed as—

The Hope of these, and glasse of future times.

Proceeding with the acrostics in Posie IIII., one perceives that the first lines of the stanzas spell DOROTHI HALSALL while the second lines give us FRANSIS WILOWBI. But the resources of the acrostic poet are not yet exhausted. If the initial letters of the four lines which remain in each stanza are read in order as they come we get in the first eight stanzas: ELIZ-ABET-HWOL-FRES-TONE-ROBERTPA-RRYE. At this point, unfortunately, material ran short and consequently the remaining six stanzas lack this portion of the elaborate acrostic system. The recurrence of the names of Frances Willoughby, Elizabeth Wolfreston and Robert Parry in this poem confirms me in my opinion that Posie IIII. is not the work of the Patron.

Posie V. contains no acrostics; nevertheless one suspects that under the word-play a personal allusion may be concealed. Though this piece affords no decisive evidence of authorship I am inclined to believe that it is Salusbury's and not Parry's. In any case there can be no question about Posie 6, which bears the title, "The patrones Dilemma," and contains the acrostic, DOROTHY HALSALL.

Posie VIII. likewise contains a Dorothy Halsall acrostic, together with the initials "I. S." in the concluding line. The heading which it bears—"The Patrones Adieu"—may possibly suggest that it is Salusbury's final contribution to the series of "Posies"—as it certainly is the last which contains acrostics.

The thirteen "Posies" are followed by a series of thirty-one "Sonettos," of which only six contain acrostics. The line initials of Sonetto 3 give us "I. S. HIS VALENTINE,"—a sufficient assurance of Salusbury's authorship,—and Sonettos 4 and 5 contain (with slightly varied spelling) the name ELEANOR SALVSBURY—a person whom I have not succeeded in identifying. The other three acrostic Sonettos—16, 17, and 18—when read from the bottom yield the name, HELENA OWEN—who likewise is a person unknown. I see no reason why the entire series of Sonettos, as well as the Madrigals and Roundelays which follow, should not be assigned to Salusbury, especially as "Sonets, Maddrigalls, & Rowndelays" are specifically mentioned in the title-page prefixed to the Patron's division of the book.

This (so far as the evidence goes) completes Salusbury's share in the volume—a total of exactly fifty pages, if we deduct Posie IIII. and assign him all the others. "Sinetes Dumpe" which follows is, of course, the work of Parry. Who the Nameless Malcontent may be, with whose Lamentation the volume concludes, we have no means of determining. In tone as well as theme it resembles much of Salusbury's verse and it is possible that it comes from his pen—but there are no acrostics to betray the secret.

IV. WHO WAS ROBERT CHESTER?

We come finally to inquire in regard to Robert Chester and the relationship in which he stood to Sir John Salusbury. At the very outset we are confronted by the problem of the poet's identity. The only attempt thus far to solve this problem is that which has been made by Dr. Grosart, who has gone to much pains to identify the author of *Loves Martyr* with Robert Chester, Esq., of Royston, Herts, though he was not able to establish any connection between this Hertfordshire squire and Sir John Salusbury, to whom *Loves Martyr*

was dedicated, or to discover in Chester of Royston the slightest tendency toward poetry or literature of any sort. Before discussing this attempt to identify Robert Chester the poet, it is necessary to consider briefly such biographical evidence as is obtainable concerning the Royston claimant. So far as the family history of the Royston Chesters is concerned, little need be added to the material presented by Dr. Grosart (pp. vii-viii). Edward Chester, the father of Robert, served in the Low Countries under the Prince of Orange, who rewarded him for his sturdy defence of Delft in 1573 by advancing him from the rank of captain to that of colonel. A further testimony to his military services appears in the grant by the States of Holland, under date 19 September, 1581, of an annual pension of twenty-four guilders, to be paid to him as long as he should live, and afterwards to be continued to his son Robert for the term of his life.⁸¹

Robert Chester of Royston was born, as Dr. Grosart has shown, about the end of June, 1566. It is possible that he was a University man, for there is record of a Robert Chester who proceeded B. A. from Trinity College, Cambridge in 1585-6.⁸² On July 30, 1587, Robert Chester of Royston was

⁸¹ See Sir Roger Williams's account of the campaigns in the Low Countries (*Somers' Tracts*, I, 374). For the date and terms of the pension granted to Edward Chester, see Lansdowne MS. 145, fol. 80, which is a copy ("Translated out of Duche") of an Act by the States of Holland, 31 October, 1587, in which the terms of the original grant are rehearsed. In Robert Chester's will, dated 3 May, 1638 (Prerogative Court of Canterbury, "25 Evelyn," preserved at Somerset House), mention is made of "my pencion from the states of Holland and the arrearages thereof."

⁸² I am under obligations to Mr. J. A. Venn for this information. Unfortunately, since the admission books of this college do not begin until later, we lack any record of the age or birthplace of this Robert Chester, B. A., and therefore have no means of identifying him. Of the two Universities it is much more probable that Chester of Royston would have gone up to Cambridge, which is only a few miles distant from his home.

married to Anne, daughter of Sir Henry Capell, of Little Hadham, Herts.⁸³ Of this union were born four sons and five daughters.⁸⁴ During the whole time from his marriage until 1600 Robert Chester appears to have been closely connected with local affairs in Hertfordshire. In 1593 his name stands in a list of gentlemen of this county who were assessed on a "contribution" for the defense of the kingdom. The assessments range from £20 to £50, Chester's being £30.⁸⁵ May 22, 1597, Robert Chester and four others were appointed to receive, disburse, and account to the deputy lieutenants for, all moneys issued and levied in the several Hundreds in the County toward fitting out troops for the wars.⁸⁶ Two years later Chester was a Justice of the Peace and also held the office of High Sheriff for the County of Herts. A further bit of evidence showing Chester's close touch with local affairs appears in a letter from Sir Arthur Capell to Cecil, May 2, 1600. Sir Arthur states that he has been entreated by his brother-in-law, Mr. Robert Chester, to inform Cecil of his knowledge concerning the insufficiency of the townsmen of Royston to undergo so great a charge as the building up of their church.⁸⁷ Moreover, between 1596 and 1600 Robert Chester was actively engaged in business transactions, buying and selling a number of pieces of property, chiefly in Hertfordshire.⁸⁸ Down to the year 1600,

⁸³ Duncan Warrand, *Hertfordshire Families*, 1907, p. 89.

⁸⁴ I follow the list given in Mundy's Visitation of Hertfordshire, 1634 (Harl. ms. 1547, fol. 13^b, Harleian Soc. Pubs. xxii, p. 40), which appears to be more authentic than that given in Mundy's Visitation of 1620 (Harl. ms. 1546, fol. 73^b). According to the latter there were five sons and six daughters.

⁸⁵ Cussan, *Hist. of Hertfordshire*, Hundred of Edwinstree, p. 7.

⁸⁶ *Calendars of State Papers, Domestic*, 1596-7, p. 417.

⁸⁷ *Hist. mss. Com.*, Report on mss. at Hatfield House, Part x, 135.

⁸⁸ Patent Rolls, Public Record Office: 2 Sept., 1596 (38 Eliz., Pars viii), 2 Mar., 1598 (40 Eliz., iv), 20 Oct., 1599 (41 Eliz., xxii). See also deeds preserved at the Brit. Mus.: 27 Sept., 1597 (Add. Chart. 36,264); 9 Nov., 1598, 26 June, 1599, 22 Oct., 1599, 24 Nov., 1599 (Add. Charts. 36,266-9).

then, the circumstances in the life of Robert Chester of Royston, so far as we know them, afforded no opportunity for association with John Salusbury, of Lleweni. In that year for the first time we find a possible link which would serve to connect the two men. On February 14, 1600, Robert Chester of Royston, Esq., was admitted to the Middle Temple,⁸⁹ to which Salusbury had been admitted some five years earlier. Apparently Chester retained his chamber at the Middle Temple until the autumn of 1601.⁹⁰ The coincidence of Chester's residence at the Temple with the publication of *Loves Martyr* would have given much satisfaction to Dr. Grosart had he known of it. And if we had to take into account merely the dedication of *Loves Martyr* to Salusbury, there is no doubt that the Middle Temple connection might be accepted as evidence in favor of the identification of Robert Chester of Royston as the poet. But it is now necessary to consider also the Chester poems in the Christ Church ms.; and these make it clear that the friendship between the poet and Salusbury began at least two years before 1600. Accordingly the Middle Temple will not serve as the means of introducing them to each other. Furthermore, so far as Chester of Royston is concerned, his residence at the Middle Temple seems to have been brought about not by Salusbury, but by George Shirley,⁹¹ with whom

⁸⁹ The record of his admission reads as follows: "14 Feb. [1600, New Style] Robert Chester of Royston, Herts, esq., specially; fine, only 20 s., at the instance of Mr. Shurley, a Master of the Bench. Bound with Messrs. George Shurley and Frances Clyve. Also to the chamber of Messrs. George Shurley and Henry Tokefeilde, esq., in place of the latter; fine only 20 s., at the instance of Mr. Shurley of the Bench" (Hopwood, *Middle Temple Records*, I, 402). I confess that I do not understand this last sentence. Possibly two admission entries have been "telescoped."

⁹⁰ The date of his withdrawal is fixed approximately by the following entry in the Middle Temple Records (ed. Hopwood, p. 417): "27 Nov. [1601] Mr. William Pemberton to the chamber of Messrs. George Shurley and Robert Chester in place of the latter; fine, 30 s."

⁹¹ The Shirley family, Mr. C. E. A. Bedwell, Librarian of the Middle

he was associated in a series of business transactions, including several of the purchases of property to which reference has been made above.

These biographical data concerning Robert Chester of Royston, we must conclude, offer no support to the identification which Dr. Grosart has produced. His unbroken connection with Hertfordshire down to 1600 is not easily reconciled with Robert Chester the poet, who offered his "Wynter garland of Sommer Flowers" (No. X) to Salusbury as a New Year's gift in 1598. For it is to be observed that Chester the poet writes from the point of view of Denbighshire. He composes verses of welcome when Sir John Salusbury comes down from the Court to Lleweni,⁹² or again he sings his patron's praise at a Christmas merriment held at Lleweni.⁹³ Note also that he appears to be thoroughly acquainted with the animosities in which Sir John was involved with some of his neighbors.⁹⁴ In a word, Chester the poet betrays a connection with the region of Denbigh no less definite than the connection of Chester of Royston with Hertfordshire. One feels, too, when the poet exhorts the swains of Arcady (*i. e.*, Denbighshire) to—

sing a madingall or roundelay
to please our Lordlike sheapheard lord of us,

Temple, informs me, was closely associated with the Capell family into which Robert Chester of Royston married. According to a pedigree of the Capell family printed by the Harleian Society (Vol. XXII, p. 114), Frances Capell, the sister of Anne, wife of Robert Chester, married a Shirley—very probably George Shirley. George Shirley himself was a Middle Templar of influence. He had been called to the degree of "le Utter Barr" in 1597 (Hopwood, I, 374), and later became Reader and at length Master of the Bench.

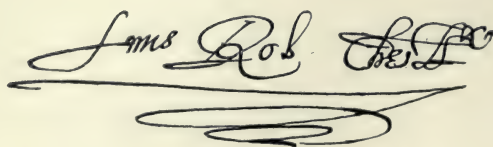
⁹² Cf. No. XVII (p. 23). Note especially the lines:

Then how I joy at theese weekes happie ending, .
Let my forepassed greef at full relate,
How pleasure in my brest the time is spending
That whilome liude Alone disconsolate.

⁹³ Cf. No. XII (p. 19).

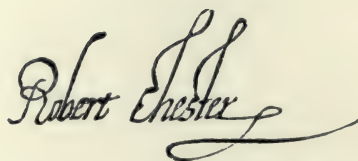
⁹⁴ Cf. No. XIII (p. 20).

I



Signature of Robert Chester the poet, Christ Church MS. 184,
fol. 46^a.

II



Signature of Robert Chester of Royston, B. M. Add. Chart. 36,273.

III



Signature of the translator of *De Optimo Senatore*,
B. M. Addit. MS. 18,613.

that his attitude toward Salusbury resembles that of a feudal retainer rather than that which would be assumed by the Squire of Hertfordshire, who was himself of a prominent and established family.

Finally—if further evidence be needed—I place side by side on the opposite page facsimiles of the signatures of the two men. The first is the signature of Robert Chester the poet, at the end of his “Wynter Garland of Sommer Flowers” (No. X), written in 1598. The second is the signature of Robert Chester of Royston, Esq., appended to a deed bearing date, 1 May, 1602.

A Robert Chester, who assuredly is not the poet and probably is to be distinguished also from the squire of Royston, appears as the author of an unprinted translation of the First Book of the treatise *De Optimo Senatore* by Laurentius Goslicius.⁹⁵ This piece of translation, preserved in B. M. Addit. ms. 18,613, is evidently the work of a young student, probably either at the University or at one of the Inns of Court. The dedicatory inscription (fol. 3^a) reads:—

To the Right Worshipfull and his singular
good freind Mr Meade Judge of the
comon place Robert Chester wisheth
long life, increase of honour with
all prosperity.

In the Epistle to Judge Meade which follows, the translator gives some information about himself:

I offer the first fruites of my labor and studyes vnto yow trusting that it shalbe as well accepted as though it had been more curious for the manner and copious for the matter. I hope yow will not looke that the plant newly graffed should bring forth fruit in such plentifull manner as the stock of longer graffe. . . . [fol. 3^b] Well, when I shalbe

⁹⁵ Another translation of this treatise, printed at London in 1598 under the title: “The Counsellor / Exactly pourtraited in two Bookes. / Wherein the Offices of / Magistrates, the happie life of Subiectes, and the felicitie of / Common-weales is pleasantly and pithilie discoursed,” etc., is wholly independent of Robert Chester’s, and is distinctly a more careless piece of work.

better setled and of longer contynuaunce I hope I shall bring forth fruit both more toothsome for your taste, and more holesome for *your* diet. In the meane tyme perswading nay assuring myself yt this my paynes shalbe accepted in good part I cease to trouble yow desrying th'almighty to protect yow and *your* whole family from all perilles and preserue yow in all prosperity.

Thomas Meade, to whom this work was dedicated, came of an Essex family. He was elevated to the bench of the Court of Common Pleas November 30, 1577, and retained this office until his death in May, 1585.⁹⁶ Since these dates fix the limits within which the translation was composed, it will be seen that, if the translator was Robert Chester of Royston, he must have completed it before the end of his nineteenth year. The third facsimile on the opposite page shows the signature of Robert Chester the translator. It bears as much resemblance, perhaps, to the signature of Chester of Royston as could be expected between the hand of the same person at the ages of 18 and 36.

Though we have not yet succeeded in discovering *who* Robert Chester was, the Christ Church ms. gives us much additional information concerning his relationship to his patron, Sir John Salusbury. His poems in this ms., as has already been noted, were clearly written in the neighborhood of Lleweni, the seat of the Salusburies in Denbighshire. The fact that he writes verses in praise of Blanch Wynn (No. VI, p. 9), who married Sir John's half-brother, and Dorothy Halsall (Nos. VIII and IX, pp. 13-14), Sir John's sister-in-law, is evidence of familiar acquaintance with the Salusbury family circle. Still more significant in this respect is his poem linking together in acrostics the names of his patron and Dorothy Halsall (No. X, p. 15 ff.). Finally, the memorandum, in Chester's hand (Christ Church ms. 184, fol. 49^b) of the fees paid by Sir John Salusbury at the time he was knighted, suggests that Chester may have been installed in the Salusbury household, possibly (if one might

⁹⁶ Edw. Foss, *Judges of England*, Ed. 1857, v. 524.

guess) as family chaplain.⁹⁷ However this may be, he was in any case a person of humble social station and his relation toward his patron, though familiar, was always that of a dependent. How else can we explain such lines as these (No. X, p. 15):

Therefore to thee sole patron of my good,
I proffer vp the proffer of my hart,
my vnderdeserved favoures vnderstood,
to thee and none but thee I will impart:
O grace them with thy gracious gracing looke
that in pure kindnes much haue vndertooke.

The recognition that the friendship of Robert Chester and Sir John Salusbury was not one of social equality but that Chester was merely a satellite and dependent, helps us to understand how the publication of *Loves Martyr* with its appended "Poeticall Essaies" must have come about. Chester himself would hardly have been able to secure contributions from Shakspeare, Jonson and the others, to grace his volume. On the other hand, Salusbury, with the rank of a Knight and with his position as Esquire of the body to Elizabeth, would meet with no difficulty in soliciting these poems. The presence in the Salusbury ms. at Christ Church of a poem written by Jonson's own hand makes one surmise that with him, at least, Sir John Salusbury had more than mere acquaintance. Also the lines with which Robert Chester begins his "Welcome Home" to his patron, carry an interesting suggestion that Salusbury enjoyed personal association with the greater Elizabethans:

Your eares hauing hard the Nightingall soe long,
I feare will blame my hoarse-throat rauens song:
The swanns that laue their blacke feet in the streames,
Haue in their sweetnes sang you golden theames:
Court-bewtefying Poets in their verse,
Homerian like sweete stanzoes did rehearse.

⁹⁷ Following up this conjecture, I undertook to consult the records of the diocese on the chance of finding mention of Chester's name, but I learned that unluckily the Diocesan registry of St. Asaph had been destroyed during the Commonwealth.

One may most easily account for the publication of *Loves Martyr*, then, by supposing that Sir John Salusbury, in order to gratify the literary ambition of Chester, who was his friend as well as his dependent, took the ms. of the poem with him on one of his journeys from Lleweni to London, asked a few of the most prominent poets—"the best and chiefest of our moderne writers," as they are styled on the title-page—to lend their names and verses to the success of the volume, and then sent it to the printer. If such was indeed the case, Robert Chester must have been filled with true prophetic afflatus when he wrote of his patron three years before:

Goodmeaning tells me he my freind will stand,
To vnderprop my tottering rotten ryme!

V. THE ALLEGORY IN *Loves Martyr*.

Robert Chester's *Loves Martyr* or *Rosalins Complaint*, as it is styled on the title-page, falls easily into three general divisions: (1) The Allegory of the Turtle and Phœnix, which consists for the most part of a dialogue between the Phœnix and her instructor, Dame Nature; (2) "The Birth, Life, and Death of honourable Arthur King of Brittain," a narrative composed on the basis of the Elizabethan Chronicle Histories; (3) a series of "Cantoës" (*i. e.* lyrics) addressed to the Phœnix by the "Paphian Doue."

Of these three divisions the one dealing with King Arthur is thrust in extraordinary fashion into the very midst of the Dialogue between Dame Nature and the Phœnix. "Here endeth," the poet remarks at its conclusion, "the Birth, Life, Death, and Pedigree of King Arthur of Brittainie, & now, to where we left." It is clear that this awkward interruption of the allegory was not a part of Chester's original plan but was an afterthought, suggested, as he explains in his preliminary remarks "To the courteous Reader," by Dame Nature's reference to Arviragus and Arthur in connection

with the account of Windsor Castle. The King Arthur section, accordingly, may be regarded as a later insertion in the poem. As it lacks all connection with the allegory of the Phoenix and Turtle, it may here be dismissed from further consideration.

In the "Cantoës" which form the third division of *Loves Martyr* the allegory of the Phoenix and Turtle is continued. In these pieces, however, the Turtle-dove is himself the speaker and addresses the Phoenix in terms of ardent passion. These lyrics are arranged under two headings: (1) "Cantoës Alphabet-wise to faire Phoenix made by the Paphian Doue"; (2) "Cantoës Verbally Written," in which the first words of each line form rhyming sentences. In constructing these "verbally written" stanzas Chester has borrowed liberally from current "ring posies," as is evident from the following parallels which appear in a collection of these "posies" preserved in Harl. ms. 6910 (the page references are to Bullen, *Some Shorter Elizabethan Poems*):—

Loves Martyr.

HARL. MS.

Myselfe and mine, are always
thine (p. 145).
O let me heare, from thee my
deare (p. 148).
If I you haue, none else I craue
(p. 149).
Be you to me, as I to thee (p.
149).
If you I had, I should be glad
(p. 150).
I ioy to find a constant mind (p.
155).
Time shall tell thee, how well I
loue thee (p. 165).
The want of thee is death to me
(p. 165).
I loue to be beloued (p. 166).

Myself and mine
are only thine (p. 274, col. 2).⁹⁶
I would I were
With you, my Dear (p. 273, col. 1).
I nought do crave
But you to have (p. 275, col. 2).
Be true to me,
as I to thee (pp. 283, and 285).
I would be glad
If you I had (p. 273, col. 1).
I joy to find
A constant mind (p. 274, col. 1).
Time shall tell thee
How much I love thee! (p. 274,
col. 2).
The want of thee
Is grief to me (p. 276, col. 2).
Love to be loved (p. 274, col. 1).

⁹⁶ Occurs also in Christ Church ms. 184, fol. 78^b.

There can be no doubt that the Phœnix and the Dove (or "Turtle-Dove," pp. 152 and 158) of these Cantoes are the same birds who figure in the earlier allegory. Compare, for example, the opening line of the "Cantoes Alphabet-wise,"

A Hill, a hill, a *Phœnix* seekes a Hill,

with the mention of the hill in "Rosalins Complaint":

These shall direct him to this *Phœnix* bed,
Where on a high hill he this bird shall meet.⁹⁹

But the further question whether Robert Chester in these Cantoes is uttering his own passion, as his employment of the first person would at first suggest, or was merely voicing the sentiments of the Turtle-Dove, is one which can best be considered at a later point in the discussion.

With this glance at the several divisions into which *Loves Martyr* is separable we come at length to inquire as to the meaning of the allegory. And our present concern, it should be understood, is wholly with the Phœnix and Turtle of Chester's poem. The treatment of the allegory at the hands of Shakspeare and the others who appended their "poeticall essaies" will be postponed until the examination of Chester's allegory has been concluded. In embarking on this enquiry it will be convenient to have before us a brief synopsis of the story of the Phœnix and Turtle-dove as it stands in Chester's poem.

Dame Nature finds the Phœnix in great dejection, lamenting that she "must die And neuer [be] with a poore yong Turtle graced" (p. 10). Her beauty is unavailing since she is persecuted by Envy, and driven into exile by Fortune:

What did my Beautie moue her to Disdaine?
Or did my Vertues shadow all her Blisse?
That she should place me in a desart Plaine,
And send forth *Enuie* with a *Iudas* kisse,
To sting me with a Scorpions poisoned hisse?

From my first birth-right for to plant me heare,
Where I haue alwaies fed on Griefe and Feare (p. 23).

⁹⁹ *Loves Martyr*, p. 12.

Nature banishes Envy, and promises better Fortune to the Phoenix (p. 24). She will bring her to the Ile of Paphos to visit the Turtle-dove. Accordingly they fly, "Ouer the Semi-circle of *Europa*," and come at length to England. During their flight Nature discourses of the history of various towns, which, however, are not introduced in any topographical order: (1) Athelney, (2) Winchester, (3) Oxford, (4) Leicester, (5) Canterbury, (6) Shaftsburie, (7) Carleyle, (8) Cambridge, (9) York, (10) Edinburgh, (11) Windsor, (12) London. At length they alight

neere to that Ile

In whose deep bottome plaines Delight doth smile (p. 81).

Then follows a long account of the plants, trees, fishes, gems, minerals, animals, and birds to be found in "this louely Countrie." Among the animals are the Camel and Elephant.

At the end of this long lecture by Dame Nature, the Phoenix spies the Turtle-dove—

Whose feathers mowt off, falling as he goes
The perfect picture of hart pining woes (p. 123).

Nature explains who he is and discreetly withdraws:

Farewell faire bird, Ile leave you both alone,
This is the *Doue* you long'd so much to see
And this will proue companion of your mone,
An Vmpire of all true humility (p. 124).

In answer to the sympathetic inquiries of the Phoenix the Turtle replies:

My teares are for my *Turtle* that is dead,
My sorrow springs from her want that is gone,
My heauy note sounds for the soule that's fled,
And I will dye for him left all alone.¹⁰⁰

¹⁰⁰ The contradiction between "her" in the second line and "him" in the fourth line defies explanation. Mr. Herbert Collman assures me that this is the reading in the original print. Dr. Furnivall (p 7* note) suggested the alteration of "him" to "her" in the fourth line. But it would be quite as easy to alter "her" in the second line to "his." See below, p. lxiii.

Thereupon the Phoenix offers to share his grief:

I will beare
Halfe of the burdenous yoke thou dost sustaine.
.
.
.
Thou shalt not be no more the *Turtle-Doue*,
Thou shalt no more go weeping al alone,
For thou shalt be my selfe, my perfect Loue,
Thy grieve is mine, thy sorrow is my mone (pp. 126-127).

The Turtle is speedily consoled and both birds set to work light-heartedly to build the pyre upon which they propose to burn both their bodies "to reuiue one name." After prayers to Apollo they enter the flame—the Turtle first, then the Phoenix—and are consumed.

"And thus I end the *Turtle Doues* true story" (p. 131).

This line appears to bring the allegory to a natural conclusion; moreover, it is followed by "Finis R. C." It is quite possible, therefore, that the poem originally ended at this point and that the moralizing speech by the Pellican and the "Conclusion" which follows it were added subsequently. It will be noted that with the beginning of the Pellican's speech the metre changes from stanzas to the couplet. Again, the final words of the Phoenix as she enters the flame:—

I hope of these another Creature springs,
That shall possesse both our authority—

should be compared with the definite announcement in the Conclusion:

From the sweet fire of perfumed wood,
Another princely *Phoenix* vpright stood:
Whose feathers purified did yeeld more light,
Then her late burned mother out of sight (p. 134).

Even this brief synopsis of Chester's allegory reveals its essentially grotesque character. And the conclusion leaves us uncertain whether to weep over the funeral pyre of the burned birds or to offer congratulations upon the birth of

another Phœnix. In laying the scene for the poem Chester jumbles together Arabia, Paphos Isle, and Britain. There is the same bewildering confusion in the cyclopædic catalogue of the fauna and flora of Paphos and its vicinity. Equally incongruous is the juxtaposition of the prayer to Jehovah (pp. 13-15) and the classical mythology of the scene with which the poem begins.

The confusions and obscurities which abound in Chester's poem result in part, no doubt, from careless and inartistic workmanship, but the radical defect lies in the unfortunate attempt to employ the allegory of the Phœnix as the basis of a poem to celebrate the union of two lovers. For if anything is clear in this poem, it is that the meeting of the Turtle and Phœnix is intended to represent a nuptial union. The Phœnix announces to the Turtle:—

we must wast together in that fire
That will not burne but by true Loves desire;

and again she bids him—

gather sweete wood for to make our flame,
And in a manner sacrificingly,
Burne both our bodies to reuiue one name.

A little later she declares:

Of my bones must the Princely *Phœnix* rise;

and finally, addressing the fire, she cries:

Accept into your euer hallowed flame,
Two bodies, from the which may spring one name.

The Turtle, too, echoes this declaration:

Accept my body as a Sacrifice
Into your flame, of whom one name may rise.

The flame into which the Phœnix and Turtle plunged, then, was kindled by the torch of Hymen. This, no doubt, will explain the Turtle's reference to it as "this happy Tragedy,"

and will enable us better to understand the fortitude of the Turtle as reported by the Pellican:

With what a spirit did the *Turtle* flye
 Into the fire, and chearfully did dye?
 He look't more pleasant in his countenance
 Within the flame, then when he did aduance,
 His pleasant wings vpon the naturall ground.

Nevertheless, one feels that in representing the nuptials of two happy lovers as an immolation—albeit a willing one—the poet has not chosen a fortunate figure, though it was the conclusion forced upon him by the allegory of the Phœnix.

This interpretation of the allegory may at first seem incompatible with certain lines in *Loves Martyr* which speak of the Turtle and the Phœnix as though they had actually perished in the flame. Perhaps the most explicit statement of this sort is one which occurs in the “Conclusion” of the poem:

From the sweet fire of perfumed wood,
 Another princely *Phœnix* vpright stood:
 Whose feathers purified did yeeld more light,
 Then her late burned mother out of sight (p. 134).

The last line apparently affirms unequivocally the death of the Phœnix, and hence would suggest that the catastrophe in the poem is to be understood as tragical. Nevertheless, this reference to the “late burnd mother” is to be regarded, I think, not as resting upon any basis of biographical fact, but as introduced merely for the sake of carrying out the Phœnix allegory. Indeed, these very lines afford an excellent illustration of the confusion into which Chester was led through the employment of an allegory which was ill suited to his purpose.

If we turn from the perplexing story of the Turtle-dove and the Phœnix to “The Authors request to the Phœnix,” which immediately follows the Epistle Dedicatorie and is, as Dr. Grosart has observed, really a second dedication of

the poem, we find the Phœnix not only surviving but standing forth as the patroness of the poet who has sung her incineration. The first stanza of the "Authors request" runs as follows:

Phœnix of beautie, beauteous Bird of any
To thee I do entitle all my labour,
More precious in mine eye by far then many,
That feedest all earthly sences with thy saour:
Accept my home-writ praises of thy loue,
And kind acceptance of thy Turtle-doue.

These lines are extremely important, not only because they make it clear that the story of the Phœnix and Turtle-dove is not to be regarded as ending tragically, but also because they afford assurance that a definite, personal interpretation underlies Chester's use of the allegory. For the poet would hardly have addressed this "Request" to a mere abstraction. In the last two lines, moreover, we have a categorical statement of Chester's purpose in composing *Loves Martyr*. Accept my poem, he begs the Phœnix, which is written to celebrate your love and acceptance of the Turtle-dove.¹⁰¹ The opinion expressed above that *Loves Martyr* was designed as a nuptial poem appears, therefore, to receive authoritative confirmation from Chester himself.

The second stanza of the "Authors request" should also be noted on account of the suggestion which it carries that the poet and the Phœnix were separated by a wide gulf in social rank:

Some deepe-read scholler fam'd for Poetrie,
Whose wit-enchancing verse deserueth fame,
Should sing of thy perfections passing beautie,
And eleuate thy famous worthy name:
Yet I the least, and meanest in degree,
Endeuoured haue to please in praising thee.

¹⁰¹ Dr. Grosart (p. xxii) is certainly right in taking these lines to mean that Chester "was not pleading for himself but [for] another." On the other hand, the poet does not plead with the Phœnix to accept the Turtle-dove but expresses satisfaction over what is already an accomplished fact.

The language and the tone of Chester's "Request," then, make it almost certain that he was addressing the Phoenix as his patroness and not as the object of his affections. Accordingly, the employment of the first person in the "Cantoës"—if, indeed, these were written by Chester—may be regarded as merely a literary device adopted by the poet to enable him to give lyrical expression to his theme.¹⁰²

If, now, we proceed, as I think we may, on the assumption that in *Loves Martyr* the Turtle and Phoenix stand for a real man and woman, it becomes our problem to determine if possible the persons whom Chester had in mind. This is necessarily a more difficult problem, and perhaps one which it may be impossible to solve with perfect certainty. For Chester has woven into the poem many obscure allusions, the key to which is to be gained only through intimate acquaintance with the biographies of the persons concerned. The explanation of the allegory which is proposed in the following paragraphs must therefore be considered in many points as conjecture rather than established fact. All that can be claimed is that it fits the facts so far as we know them. But with the present state of our knowledge many allusions in the poem are still unexplained.

In the preceding section it has been shown that Robert Chester the poet was a dependent of Sir John Salusbury, and that he had a close acquaintance with affairs in the household at Lleweni. It will be remembered, also, that the

¹⁰² It is to be noted that the "Cantoës Alphabet-wise" are declared to be "made by the Paphian Doue." This may mean that Chester essayed to write in the person of the Paphian Dove, or it may be that these Cantoës were really composed by the "Turtle-dove" (*i. e.*, according to the theory which will be advanced later, by Sir John Salusbury). One recalls in this connection the pieces appended by Salusbury in the Parry volume, which like *Loves Martyr* was dedicated to him as patron. On the other hand, at the end of the "Cantoës verbally written," which follow those "made by the Paphian Doue," we find Chester's name subscribed (*Loves Martyr*, p. 167); and in these as in the others the *Turtle-dove* speaks in his own person.

very poem which we are at present considering was dedicated to Sir John, who was, so far as we know, the poet's only patron. Accordingly, if Chester intended his allegory to celebrate the love and marriage of two real persons, it appears most likely that those persons were Sir John Salusbury and his wife.

The marriage of Salusbury and Ursula Stanley occurred in December, 1586, only three months after the execution of Thomas Salusbury. According to all accounts, John Salusbury was deeply affected by his brother's tragic death. Indeed, in a "poysie" composed for the wedding festivities the hope is expressed that his marriage might serve "to delighte hys doulfull mynde."¹⁰³ This fits well, it will be observed, with the dejection in which the Phœnix finds the Turtle-dove at her first meeting with him.¹⁰⁴ This dejection, upon which Chester lays much stress, is the result, as we are expressly told, of a bereavement. Unfortunately, in the stanza in which the Turtle-dove gives the reason for his melancholy there is some confusion in the text which plainly requires emendation. If we emend the second line as has been suggested¹⁰⁵ the text becomes consistent and the stanza is rendered perfectly intelligible:

My teares are for my *Turtle* that is dead,
 My sorrow springs from his want that is gone,
 My heawy note sounds for the soule that's fled,
 And I will dye for him left all alone:
 I am not liuing, though I seeme to go,
 Already buried in the graue of wo.

It may be remarked, further, that when the cause of the Turtle-dove's sorrow is thus understood the sympathetic offers of the Phœnix:

Mine eyes shall answer teare for teare of thine;
 Sigh thou, Ile sigh, etc.,

¹⁰³ See below, p. 37.

¹⁰⁴ *Loves Martyr*, pp. 123-126.

¹⁰⁵ See above, p. lvii, note 100.

and,

I will beare
Halfe of the burdenous yoke thou dost sustaine,

are more appropriate than if the mourning were made for the loss of a previous mate.¹⁰⁶

Ursula Stanley, though born of an illegitimate connection, was the daughter of an illustrious nobleman who boasted the double title, Earl of Derby and King of Man. In Danielle's verses her lineage is mentioned with evident pride:

ffrom princely blood & Ryale stocke she came
of egles brood hatcht in a loftie nest.¹⁰⁷

And similarly in the "poysie" presented on the occasion of her marriage to Salusbury she is referred to as "A princely byrde."¹⁰⁸ In this connection it is to be observed that *Loves Martyr* contains more than one intimation that the Phoenix was born of noble family. In his "request to the Phoenix" Chester refers to her "famous worthy name"; and in the Conclusion he announces the birth of the Phoenix's heir in these words:

Another princely Phenix vpriight stood.

Again in the *Loves Martyr* this princely Phoenix, born of the union of the Turtle and Phoenix, is explicitly referred to as a female. This agrees with the record of births in the Salusbury family. The eldest child was Jane, who was born October, 1587.

So far as the Phoenix is concerned, then, the interpretation of the allegory which is here proposed appears to offer no

¹⁰⁶ Stanza 19 of the "Cantoës Alphabet-wise," which begins:

Thou art a *Turtle* wanting of thy mate,

can not be cited as evidence on the question under discussion, for the reason that this stanza, as the context shows, is addressed to the Phoenix and not to the Turtle-dove.

¹⁰⁷ See below, p. 31.

¹⁰⁸ See below, p. 37.

difficulties. It remains to inquire whether the description of the Turtle-dove can be applied to Sir John Salusbury.

Before taking up the question directly it should be noted that an undoubted allusion to Salusbury is introduced in the stanzas on the lion.¹⁰⁹ These stanzas are strikingly similar in tone to the "Poore sheapheards Profecye," one of the pieces in the Christ Church ms.,¹¹⁰ in which Chester sings Salusbury's praise under the figure of a white lion—the arms of the Salusbury family. In both the lion is represented as worried by beasts of baser kind, and in both his eventual vengeance upon his enemies is confidently predicted. The general resemblance between the "Profecye" and the description of the lion in *Loves Martyr* is in itself sufficient to lead one to suspect that they relate to the same person. But in addition to this the stanzas in *Loves Martyr* contain a direct reference to Salusbury in the words:

He neuer wrongs a man nor hunts his pray,
If they will yeeld submissiue at his feete.

The personal allusion in these lines is at once perceived when one notes Mrs. Thrale's statement that for generations the motto of the Salusburies was, *Satis est prostrasse leoni*. A similar allusion, it is to be observed, occurs in the concluding lines of Griffith's verses on the Salusbury motto:

But such as comes from Noble Lyons race,
(like this brave Squire) who yeeldes, recyues to grace.¹¹¹

The discovery of this allusion to Salusbury in these stanzas on the lion does not, of course, determine the interpretation of the allegory of the Turtle-dove. Nevertheless, it supplies an additional bit of evidence of the close relation in which the poet stood to his patron. The very mention of the lion in his catalogue of beasts was sufficient, it would appear,

¹⁰⁹ *Loves Martyr*, p. 112.

¹¹⁰ See below, pp. 20-21.

¹¹¹ See below, p. 33.

to turn Chester's thoughts to the white lion of Lleweni, and accordingly he digresses to introduce stanzas in honor of his patron.

In one remarkable passage in *Loves Martyr* Chester drops his figure for the moment and gives us a description of the Turtle-dove not as a bird but as a man. Since it is in this human portrait that we may most reasonably expect to find the clue to the identity of the Turtle-dove, I quote the passage in question, asking the reader to note that the last stanza expressly identifies the person here described with the Turtle-dove:

Hard by a running streame or crystall fountaine,
Wherein rich *Orient* pearle is often found,
Enuiron'd with a high and steeple mountaine,
A fertill soile and fruitful plot of ground,
There shalt thou find true *Honors* louely *Squire*,
That for this *Phœnix* keepes *Prometheus* fire.

His bower wherein he lodgeth all the night,
Is fram'd of *Cædars* and high loftie *Pine*,
I made his house to chastice thence despight,
And fram'd it like this heavenly roofof mine:

His name is *Liberall honor*, and his hart,
Aymes at true faithfull seruice and desart.

Looke on his face, and in his browes doth sit,
Bloud and sweete *Mercie* hand in hand vnited,
Bloud to his foes, a president most fit
For such as haue his gentle humour spited:
His Haire is curl'd by nature mild and meeke,
Hangs carelesse downe to shrowd a blushing cheek

Giue him this Ointment to annoint his Head,
This precious Balme to lay vnto his feet,
These shall direct him to this *Phœnix* bed,
Where on a high hill he this Bird shall meet:
And of their Ashes by my doome shal rise,
Another *Phœnix* her to equalize.¹¹²

Several points in these lines suggest that the subject of this description is Sir John Salusbury. In the first place the

¹¹² *Loves Martyr*, p. 11.

landscape agrees with that of Lleweni, which was situated in the fertile meadows bordering the river Clwyd, and environed by hills and mountains. Again in the phrase "louely squire" Chester uses a term which was definitely descriptive of Salusbury's rank until he was knighted in June, 1601—and there can be no doubt that *Loves Martyr* was composed before this date. Compare in this connection Griffith's reference to Salusbury as "this Braue Squire."¹¹³ Significant also in the description is the reference to "Bloude and sweete *Mercie* hand in hand vnited," which finds a parallel in Griffith's characterization of Salusbury:

Of Might to spoyle, but yett of *Mercie* spare,
A Symbole sure to Salsberie due by right;
Who¹¹⁴ still doth ioyne, his *Mercie* with his Might.

Moreover, Chester himself in his "Poore sheapheards Profecye" stresses this same combination of gentleness and fierceness in Salusbury:

A milke whight Lion that betokned merceye,

is the opening line, but a little later Chester declares:

A time shall come when as this Lion rores
The poore lame foxe will hide him in a hole
And all his petie ffreinds wil be Amazd
And dare not peepe for feare.¹¹⁵

Finally, it is to be noted that these stanzas in *Loves Martyr* not only give a picture of the Turtle-dove but also give him a name:

His name is *Liberall honor*.

Here if anywhere, one feels, a definite clue to his identity must be intended. In his poems in the Christ Church ms. Chester has shown a fondness for acrostics; may it not be

¹¹³ See below, p. 32.

¹¹⁴ Ms. Whose.

¹¹⁵ See below, p. 21.

that here he resorted to an anagram? Out of "Liberall honor" I can make nothing, but if one take instead the Latin equivalent, *Honos liberalis*, the letters will be found to spell IOHON SALLSBERI. If this be accidental it is at least a curious coincidence. The spelling "Sallsberi," it may be granted, does not occur elsewhere, though in Griffith's line on the motto, *Posse et Nolle Nobile*, one finds "Salsberie"; and when the laxity of Elizabethan spelling is considered exactness cannot be insisted upon. Moreover, one can easily understand that the necessity of arranging the letters of Salusbury's name to form words yielding some fitting sense may have compelled some latitude in the orthography. "Honos liberalis" is perhaps a pedantic and strained anagram, but it must be remembered that we are dealing with a poet who was capable of even more desperate expedients. When Chester found himself troubled to fit "Great Britain" into the rhyme-scheme of his stanza, he evaded the difficulty by writing instead, "large *Britanicus*," and placing in the margin an apologetic "Rithmi gratia."¹¹⁶ With such a glaring instance of unpoetic license before us, we are hardly justified in rejecting the possibility of the Salusbury anagram in "Liberall honor" merely because the device impresses us as somewhat far-fetched.

It is barely possible also that personal names may be concealed in the catalogues of plants, fishes, precious stones, etc., which make up a large part of Dame Nature's instruction of the Phoenix. One recalls the employment of flower-names to form acrostics in Chester's "Wynter Garland,"¹¹⁷ as well as the similar use of precious stones in the Parry volume.¹¹⁸ Either these catalogues must be regarded as extreme examples of pedantic irrelevance or they mean more than meets the eye, though any esoteric meaning which they

¹¹⁶ *Loves Martyr*, p. 28.

¹¹⁷ See below, Christ Church Poems, No. x.

¹¹⁸ *Posie* 6.

may contain has been effectually concealed, at least from *my* "dull Imagination."¹¹⁹

In representing the Turtle-dove as having his home in "Paphos Ile,"¹²⁰ Chester seems to have in mind no definite topographical allusion. Paphos cannot be identified with Great Britain, for the reason that Nature describes the cities of England long before she arrives with her charge at the Isle which is their destination. So far as I can see, Paphos was chosen by the poet solely on account of its mythological association with Venus. The case is different with the "high hill" on which the Phœnix is represented as first meeting the Turtle-dove. Here, it would seem, the poet must have in mind a definite place, presumably the place at which Salusbury and Ursula Stanley were married. But I do not know where this marriage took place and consequently am unable to offer any suggestion as to the high hill.

If the interpretation of Chester's allegory proposed in the preceding paragraphs be accepted, it follows that *Loves Martyr*—or at least that portion of it which is concerned with the story of the Turtle and Phœnix—must have been written more than a decade before its publication in 1601. Salusbury was married in December, 1586, and his eldest child, Jane, was born in October, 1587. Harry, the next child, was born in September 1589 but the poem makes no reference to any male issue of the Turtle and Phœnix as might perhaps be expected if it had been composed after this date—although one readily sees that the birth of a second child would have been difficult to reconcile with the allegory of the Phœnix.

There appears to be nothing improbable, however, in supposing a considerable interval between the composition of *Loves Martyr* and its publication. Attention has already

¹¹⁹ See Chester's preliminary admonition, "To those of light beleefe," *Loves Martyr*, p. 15.

¹²⁰ Thus, see p. 9, stanza 4; p. 24, stanzas 1 and 4; p. 81, stanza 1; p. 101, stanza 4; p. 113, stanza 2.

been called to the fact that the "Life of King Arthur" was probably inserted into the poem by Chester as an after-thought. The "honourable-minded Friends" who "intreated" him to add the Life of Arthur¹²¹ are apparently the same persons to whom he refers in the opening sentence of his Epistle Dedicatorie: "Honorable Sir, having according to the directions of some of my best-minded friends, finished my long expected labour," etc. From this one may surmise that the King Arthur section was added not long before the volume's publication. However this may be, we have Chester's word for it that *Loves Martyr* was his "long expected labour," and this accords well with the supposition that the poem was composed a number of years before its appearance in print in 1601.

In concluding this discussion of the allegory in *Loves Martyr*, a word ought to be said in regard to the Turtle and Phoenix as they appear in the "Poeticall Essaies" appended to the volume by the greater Elizabethans. This is a matter which thus far has been rigorously excluded from our discussion for the reason that these supplementary pieces manifestly could in no way have influenced the treatment of the allegory by Chester. On the other hand, Chester's poem certainly furnished the suggestion, and to some extent served as the basis, for the allegory in the "Poeticall Essaies." To consider in detail the pieces contributed by these five poets—particularly the one by Shakspeare—would lead us too far afield. Accordingly, I confine myself to noting a few points in which these later poems appear to show a direct connection with the allegory in *Loves Martyr*.

In the first place one should note carefully the preliminary "Invocatio" and the stanzas addressed "To the worthily

¹²¹ See *Loves Martyr*, p. 34.

honor'd Knight Sir Iohn Salisburie" by the "Vatum Chorus." In the Invocation the poets "sustend" their "mutuall palmes, prepar'd to gratulate/ An honorable friend"; and in their address to Salusbury they declare that they have been moved to write by "a true Zeale, borne in our spirites/ Responsible to your high Merites."

*These were the Parents to our seuerall Rimes,
Wherein Kind, Learned, Enuious, al may view,
That we haue writ worthy our selues and you.*

These lines—especially the last—suggest that Sir John Salusbury was not only the person to whom the "Essaies" were dictated, like the contributions in a modern *Festschrift*, but that he was also the subject of them.

When we turn to the "Essaies" themselves we note the tone of friendly regard in which several of the poets refer to the Turtle-dove, as to a familiar acquaintance. Particularly is this the case with Ben Jonson. "We propose," he writes, "a person like our *Doue*/ Grac'd with a Phœnix loue;" and he launches forthwith into a panegyric upon the beauty of this lady. From this theme he returns to pay a tribute to the moral character of the Turtle in these words:

What sauage, brute Affection,
Would not be fearefull to offend a *Dame*
Of this excelling frame?
Much more a noble and right generous *Mind*,
(To vertuous moodes enclin'd)
That knowes the weight of *Guilt*: He will refraine
From thoughts of such a straine:
And to his *Sence* obiect this Sentence euer,
"*Man may securely sinne, but safely neuer.*"

Without multiplying quotations, it is clear that to Jonson both Turtle and Phœnix were living persons—man and wife—with whom he stood on terms of acquaintance, perhaps even friendship. It will be remembered in this connection that in the Salusbury ms. at Christ Church is bound a sheet containing verses written and signed by Jonson's own hand.

The presence of this sheet among the papers of the Salusbury family carries an interesting suggestion of a friendship existing between Sir John Salusbury and Jonson.

Marston's contribution differs from all the others in singing the praises "of a most exact wondrous creature, arising out of the Phoenix and Turtle Doues ashes." This creature is, of course, the "princely Phœnix" whose birth Chester announced in his "Conclusion." But Marston's lines supply a valuable bit of chronological evidence. This creature, he informs us, "now is growne vnto maturitie." In this statement we find positive confirmation of the opinion expressed above, that a number of years intervened between the composition of Chester's poem and its publication. Moreover, Marston's reference to the daughter of the Phoenix and Turtle as grown to maturity fits perfectly with the Salusbury family history, for in 1601 Jane, the eldest child of Sir John, had arrived at the age of fourteen. Marston and Salusbury, it may be added, were both Middle Templers, and it is possible that their acquaintance had its origin in this common connection.

Shakspeare differs essentially in his treatment of the allegory from the other members of the "Chorus Vatum" and also from Robert Chester. Some of Shakspeare's lines it is true, as Dr. A. H. R. Fairchild has noted,¹²² betray the direct influence of passages in *Loves Martyr*, particularly the speech of the Pellican. But starting with these definite suggestions, Shakspeare chose to develop his theme along a widely diverging line. In his poem the note from first to last is funereal. A Requiem is sung for the Phœnix and Turtle; and over the urn which encloses their ashes is pronounced a Threnos, concluding:

To this vrne let those repaire,
That are either true or faire,
For these dead Birds sigh a prayer.

¹²² "The Phœnix and Turtle. A Crit. and Hist. Interpretation," *Engl. Stud.*, xxxiii, 377.

Again, though the central point in the myth of the Phoenix is the resurrection from the ashes, Shakspeare holds out no such hope for either Phoenix or Turtle:

Death is now the *Phœnia* nest,
And the *Turtles* loyall brest,
To eternitie doth rest.

Leauing no posteritie,
Twas not their infirmitie
It was married chastitie.

This last stanza is especially remarkable, for it flatly contradicts Marston and Chester, both of whom, as we have seen, give account of a fair creature which issued from the ashes of the Phoenix.

To reconcile Shakspeare's allegory either with *Loves Martyr* or with the other "Poeticall Essaies" is thus manifestly impossible. Also, besides these contradictions in matters of fact, his lines contrast sharply with the other poems in their detached and impersonal tone. One searches in vain for any such familiarity as is displayed in Ben Jonson's reference to "our Doue." The Turtle and Phoenix are declared "Co-supremes and starres of Loue," but their love is set forth in abstract and philosophical terms. Indeed, in spite of its ingenuity and its epigrammatic brilliance, the poem as a whole impresses one as frigid and perfunctory.

This may be accounted for, in part, by the conventionality of the figures which Shakspeare employs, most of which were borrowed, as Dr. Fairchild shows, from the Court of Love poems. But this, one feels, is only a partial explanation. Shakspeare was quite capable of infusing life and warmth into conventional forms. Moreover, the question remains: Why did he choose such a conventional form in a poem written "to gratulate an honorable friend"? The answer which readily suggests itself is, that Shakspeare's relations with Sir John Salusbury were less close than those of Jonson, Marston, and Chapman, so that his lines on the Phoenix

and Turtle were a matter of courteous compliance rather than a tribute to a personal friend. The complete absence of personal allusion which one notes with surprise in Shakspeare's contribution is satisfactorily explained only on this hypothesis. In any case it is clear, I believe, that in seeking to interpret the allegory which forms the subject of *Loves Martyr* and its appended pieces the inquiry does not begin, but rather ends, with Shakspeare's poem. It was Robert Chester, the friend and dependent of Sir John Salusbury, who related in detail the story of the Phoenix and Turtle's love, to which the pieces by Shakspeare and his fellows form merely a brief appendix; and it is in Chester's poem that personal allusions appear most distinctly. To judge Chester's allegory on the basis of Shakspeare's lines is therefore a reversal of orderly method, which requires that the "Poeticall Essaies" shall be interpreted in the light of *Loves Martyr*.

POEMS

by

SIR JOHN SALUSBURY, ROBERT CHESTER,
and others,

contained in MS. 184, in the Library
of
Christ Church, Oxford.

I.

[fol. 34]

Not to extoll your beautie, or sett forth
 your plenteous graces, and your vertues woorth
 my yonge Muse dares attempt: such higher skill
 belonges vnto a farr more learned qwill:
 I only in humble layes endeavor here
 to tell the loue I beare to you (my deare)
 and to perswade therin your sweet consent;
 “so farr affection makes me eloquent;
 you knowe your owne desert; I need not tell it:
 you knowe my loue; I cannot then conceale it.
 When first vnto your all-comandinge eyes
 I offred vp my self a sacrifice,
 and in the inchantment of your sugred smyle
 did myne owne sowle of liberty begwyle:
 I found my self to barren of desert,
 which to supply, I vow’d a constant heart
 shold ever honor you with all respects;
 “perfect goodwill makes perfect all defects:
 this totall summe I tendred then to you,
 and still you haue it; (for it is your due)
 and still shall haue it whiles I liue; vnles
 smooth-slydinge Thamisis haue back regresse,
 from louely London, to the learned Towne:
 or that the loftiest English mountayns crowne
 be lowe avayled to a vally deepe.
 But what avayles me that my vowes I keepe?
 yf (as of late) you study to neglect,
 and doe despise my dutyfull respect.
 I must confesse your liberall grace to me,
 outstript my merit; and did make me see
 my self a debtor in my best habilitie.
 But wherof shold arise your mutabilitie?
 yf of my self; ô lett me see wherin,

that I may dy for pennance of that sinne;
 But yf of you; I thinke it wondrous strange,
 so choyce a beauty shold delight in change:
 the purest colour is a perfect one;
 if it be mixt the beauty then is gone:
 the lightest, bryghtest tincture (well you wott)
 paynted on whyte, appeares but as a spott.
 But not of me, nor of your self (I knowe)
 this sad dislike of late beginnes to growe,
 But of an envie that from my good speed, [fol. 34^b]
 into an others base sowle doth proceede:
 your mayde I meane; she (haply) doth invade you,
 and with her sluttish reasons wold perswade you,
 to change your mynd; yet you I knowe are wise,
 to sift such malice out of false disguise:
 and neede not feare so vile a thinge as she
 a blemish in your high reputē can bee;
 for yf you did you might prevent the ill;
 "the absent eare will cause the tongue be still;
 "the absent eye keepes knowledge from the mynd;
 "she'es chaste, that's chary; all the world is blynde
 "in sable shadow of the silent night;
 "all things discerned in the blabbinge light.
 Is not your mayd (I pray) at your dispose?
 you neede not doubt: for hence the comfort growes,
 that when you please she must haue winges to fly;
 "the cause remou'd th'effect of force must dye.
 my Deare, your wisdomē must your self direct,
 to stopp fames mouth, and blynd the worlds suspect.
 which in my Iudgement you can never doe,
 as longe as such vile drosse shall censure you;
 But vnto you I wholly do remitte
 the sight herof, and what herin is fitt.

Your once, instantly, ever,

J. S.

II.

[fol. 35]

A dietary for those who have weak backs, in 4-line stanzas (*abcb*),
beginning:—

Good sir yf you lack the strengthe in your back.

III.

[fol. 40^a]

GENIUS, where art thou? I should vse
thy present ayde; Spirit, Invention,
Wake; and put on the wings of Pindars Muse
to toure with my Intention
high as his mind, that doth aduance
her vpright head aboue the reach of Chance
or the times Envy:
Pythius; I apply
my flowing numbers to thy golden Lyre;
O, then Inspire
thy Preist in this strange rapture; heat my Brayne
with Delphique fier
that I may sing my thoughts in some vnvulgare strayne.

Rich Beame of honor, shed *your* Light
On these darke Rimes; that *our* Affection
may shine through euery Chinke, to euery sight
graced by *your* Reflection.
Then shall *our* verses (like strong Charmes)
Breake the knit Circle of her stony Armes
that curbes *your* spirit,
and keepes *your* merit
lockt in her cold Embraces, from the view
of Eyes more trew,
who would with Iudgment search, searching, conclude
(as prou'd in you)

Trew Noblesse Palme growes strayght, though handled
ne're so Rude.

Nor thinke *your* selfe vnfortunate
If subiect to the Iealous Errors
Of Politique pretext that swayes a state;
Sinke not beneath these terrors:
But whisper, O glad Innocence
When only a mans birth is his offence,
or the disfauor
of such, as sauor
nothing but practise vpon Honors thrall;
O Vertues fall,
when thy white Essence (like the Anatomy
in Surgeans hall)
Is but a Statists theame, to read Phlebotomy.

[fol. 40^b]

Let Brontes, and Blacke Steropes
sweat at the forge, theyre hammers beating;
An hower will come they must affect theyre Ease
though but while mettall's heating:
And (after all theyre Ætnæan Ire)
Gold that is perfect will out liue the fire.

for fury wasteth
as Patience lasteth;
No Armor to the mind; he is shott-free
from Iniury,
that is not hurt; not he that is not hit
So fooles we see
oft scape theyre Imputation more through lucke then
Wit.

But to *your* selfe most Loyall Lord
whose heart in that bright Sphere flames clearest,
(though many Gems be in *your* bosome stor'd
vnknowne which is the dearest)
If I auspiciously diuine

(as my hope tells) that our drad Cynthia's shine
 shall light those places
 with lustrous graces,
 where Darknesse with her gloomy-sceptred hand
 doth now command;
 Ô thou (*our* best-best-lou'd) let me Importune
 that you will stand
 As far from all Reuolt as you are now from fortune.

B. Jo.

Nec te quæsiueris extra

I am indebted to Mr. Percy Simpson of Southwark, who is engaged in editing Jonson's Works for the Clarendon Press, for the following note on this poem: "Printed in the 1640 Folio of Jonson's Works, with the title, 'An Ode to Iames Earle of Desmond, writ in Queene Elizabeth's time, since lost, and recovered.' This was James Fitzgerald, the 'Tower Earl,' born 1570 (?), died 1601. His father, the 15th earl, had been declared a traitor and was killed in 1583. In 1586 an act of Parliament declared the estates forfeited. The son, who had been given up to the English government, was kept a close prisoner till 1600; he was then sent to Ireland with instructions to bring over the Geraldine faction. He failed, and returned to England. He had merely been used as a pawn by the government."

IV.

Of late I went my dearest deare to trie her, [fol. 41^a]
 And found her sleeping, & then began to woe her,
 And safelie stouping gentlie laid me by her
 And still my *mistress* slept, but did not sleepe,

And then I tought my wanton eye to gaze
 one head, on face, one feet, on legges on thighe
 where sweet delight remaines, I sawe the place
 and still my *mistress* sawe, but wold not see

And then I tought my tounge to blaze my paine
 and softlie whispering tould her in her eare

both of my loue and of her proud disdaine
and still my mistress hard but would not heare

Then I tought mine armes her neck to foulde
and of a gentle kisse did her beguile
Soe kist and kist till kissing made me bould
and still my mistress smilde but wold not smile ¹

And then I tought my Idle fingers woe
each comelie parte from head vnto the heele
where Cupid holdes his campe I touched toe
and still my mistress felt, but wold not feele

And then I tought my man to wantonnise
And in the boate of true delight to Roe
of true delights, not Idle fantasies
And still my mistress did, but wold not doe

But since she slepte & smilde & felt and did in deed
I wish I might be oftner soe beguild
Thoughe not in shoue
The substance I effect let shadowes goe.

Finis

[Two initials, possibly "J. S.", much flourished over.]

V.

Bewties delite geve place to this fayer starr [fol. 43]
looche still one her, hur eyes will geve yow light
Ammiabel she is hur lovely fame goes farre
number her vertues and behould her sight
Compare her then to any that is livinge

¹ Ms. smilde.

hur bewety with ther bewty wilbe strivinge
wine colored cheke tournd to a cherye red
yeldes comfort to the eye that doth behould her
natur with hvr sweet bewty now is fedd
note but hur lyvely partes when yow vnfold hur
 And yow will saye that Venus shoud her coninge
 And in hur face trve bewty sate a-soninge

Finis. J. Salusburye
 made in marche 1598.

At the top of fol. 43^a, and likewise at the top of fol. 87^b, is written the word "Emanuell." Cf. also "Iessy" which stands in Christ Church MS. 183, at the top of fol. 41^a. The practice of heading a page with some form of the sacred name appears to have been frequent; see *Hist. MSS. Commission*, Report on MSS. of Lord Middleton (1911), p. 592.

VI.

Bewty a bane yet blessing vnto many
 lovelie desire being plased in their thought
and the true forme of love being ment of any
 noe way to pretious or to deare is bought
Constant in word in thought in hart in dead
 heapes twenty thousand blessings in loves steede
water *your* harts with true religious love
yow that intend loves love to be esteemed
nothing so sower as vnkynd to proue
nor nothing sweeter faithfull to be deemed
 o beare in mind love is a holy thing
 not to be hated by a mighty king.

Finis Robert chester
 made in march 1598.

The person named in the acrostics seems to be Blanche, daughter of John Vaughn of Blaen-y-Cwm, who married Edward Wynn of Ystrad, son of Morys Wynn of Gwydir and his wife Catherine of Berain. See

Sir John Wynne, *History of the Gwydir Family*, Oswestry, 1878, Table III (facing p. 49). Note also the occurrence in Christ Church MS. 183 (fol. 33^a) of verses by Edward Wynn.

VII.

Yt was the time when selly Bees colde speake [fol. 43^b]
 And in that time I was a sillye Bee
 Who suckt on time vntill my hart did breake
 Yet neuer founde the time wold fauour me
 of all the swarme I only colde not thriue,
 Yet brought I waxe and hony to the hiue

Then this I buzde when time noe sappe wolde giue
 Why ys this blessed time to me soe drye
 Syth in this time the lasye drone doth liue
 The waspe, the worme, the gnatt, the butterflye
 Mated with greefe I kneeled on my knees
 And thus complained to the king of Bees.

God graunt my liege thy time may neuer end
 and yet vouchssaffe to heare my plaint of time
 which every fruitles flye hath found a freind
 and I cast downe when Atomies doe clime
 The king replide but this, peace peeuish Bee
 Th'art borne to searue the time, the time not thee

The time not thee, this word clipt short my wings
 and made me wormelike stoope that once did flye
 A foule Regard disputeth not with kings
 Receaueth a Repulse and asks not why
 Then from the time a time I me withdrew
 to feed on Henbane, hemlocks, nettle, Rue.

¹ But from these leaues noe dramme of sweet I draine
 my headstrong fortunes did my witts bewitch
 the ioyce dispearst black blood in euery vaine
 for hony galle for waxe I gathered pitch
 my combe a rifte, my hiue a leafe must be
 soe chaingde that Bees scarce take me for a Bee.

I worke on weedes when Moone is in the wane
 whilst all the swarme in sonneshine tast the Rose
 on blackroote fearne I feed and suck my bane
 Whilst on the Eglantine the rest repose
 Having too much they still repine for more
 and cloyde with sweetnes surfeit in their store.

Swolne fatt with feasts full merely they passe
 In sweetned clusters falling on a tree
 Wheare finding me to nible on the grasse
 some scorne, some muse, and some doe pittie me
 And some in Enuy whisper to the king
 Some must be still, and some must haue no stinge.

Are bees waxt waspes, and spiders to afflict
 Do honie bowels make the spiritts gall
 Is this the Ioyce of flowers to stirre suspect
 Ist not Enough to tread on them that fall
 What sting hath patience but a sighing greefe
 That stings nought but yt selfe without reliefe

True patience the provender for fooles, [fol. 44]
 Sadd patience that wayteth at the dore,
 Patience that learnes thus to conclude in scooles,
 Patient am I, therefore I must be poore
 Great king of Bees that righteth every wrong,
 Lysten to patience in her dying song.

¹ This stanza is written on the margin and marked for insertion at this point.

I cannot feed on fennell like some flyes,
 Nor flye to every flower to gather gaine,
 My appetyte waites on my princes eyes,
 Contented with contempt, and pleasde with paine,
 And yet expecting of An happy hower,
 when he may say this Bee shall sucke A flower

Of all the greefes that most my patience grate,
 thers one that fretteth in the highest degree,
 To se some Caterpilleres breed of late,
 Cropping the fflowres that shold sustaine the Bee,
 Yet smiled I, for that the wysest knowes
 That moathes will eate the cloth, canker the Rose.

Once did I soe by fflyng in the ffield,
 fflowle beastes to browze vppon the lyllye faire,
 vertue nor bewtie cold no succour yeld,
 Alls provender for Asses but the ayre,
 The parciall world of this takes lyttle heed,
 To give them flowers that shold one thistles feed.

Tis only I must draine Egyptian flowers,
 having no savour, bytter sappe they haue,
 and seeke out rotten tombes and dead mens bowers,
 to bight on petoes growing on the graue,
 Yf this I cannot haue, yet haples Bee,
 Wishing Tobacco I will fly to thee.

What thoughe yt dye my longes in deepest black,
 A mourning habitt suites A sable hart,
 what thoughe the fume sound memory doe crack,
 forgettfulnes is fittest for my smart,
 A verteous time lett it be carude in oke,
 That words, hopes, wittes and all the world is smoke.

five yeares twice tould with promises perfumd,
 my hope-stufte head was cast into A slumber,
 Sweet dreames on gold, on dreames I then presume,
 And mongst the Bees thought I was in the number:

Waking I ffound hive-hopes had made me vaine
 Twas not Tobacco stupefied the braine.

*Ingenium, nummos, studium, spem, tempus, Amicos cum male
 perdiderem [sic] perdere verba leue.*¹

This Apologue of the Bee expresses in bitter terms the discontent of the Earl of Essex after he fell out of favor with Queen Elizabeth. It was composed either by Essex himself (as is stated in some MSS.) or by his secretary, Henry Cuff. Copies of the poem occur also in the following MSS.: Brit. Mus. Addit. 5495, fol. 28^b-29^a; 5956, fol. 23^b; Egerton MS. 923, fol. 5^b; Harley MSS. 2127, fol. 58; 6910, fol. 167; 6947, fol. 230; Caius Coll. Cambridge MS. 73, fol. 157; Tanner MS. 76, fol. 93-94; Ashmole MSS. 781, fol. 132-134, and 767, fol. 1-3 (fourteen stanzas only). The first three stanzas of the piece were printed by John Dowland in his *Third Book of Songs or Aires* (1603), from which they have been reprinted by E. Arber, *English Garner*, IV (1882), 620-1, and by A. H. Bullen, *Shorter Elizabethan Poems*, pp. 128-129. This poem has been printed in *Pieces of ancient Poetry*, Bristol, 1814, p. 25, in J. Park's ed. of Walpole's *Royal and Noble Authors*, II, 109-112 and by Grosart, *Miscell. of the Fuller Worthies Library*, IV, No. 3, pp. 85-89,

VIII.

Day glorefying Phœbe doth arise [fol. 44^b]
 Opening her christall colowred gates of bewty
 Rose Coloured cheeks starre bewtefying eyes
 Omnipotent deuinenes owes thee dutye.
 The graces at thy rare Natiuetie
 Hoverd about thy head with siluer wings
 Yelding a flowry chaplet fit for kings

¹The Latin elegiacs are written on the margin of the page in the hand of fol. 43^b.

Hate at thy birthday was a banisht slaue
And bewty like a prisner was thy thrall
Loue like a captiue crept from forth his graue
Swearing to be a seruaunt at thy call.
And Cupid on his knees to thee did fall:
Letting the world to know: that on his knee
Lowe bending honor stooped vnto thee.

IX.

Diana in thy bosome plast her bower
Offring vp incens to soe fair a Sainct
Ritch Nature on thy browe hath built her tower
Outbrauing Venus with a looke soe quaint
Thy feature great Apelles colde not paint
His cunning workemanship was to to base
In painting of thy rare accomlisht face
Eternall honor wolde his art disgrase.

How blessed is the partner of thy bedd
Attayning such a wonder is his armes
Loue-greetings with thy musky breath is fedd
Sweet sugred sleepe thy slumbring eyelidds charmes
Adonis sings like to a Nightingall
Loue ditties in thy praise maiesticall

finis Robt Chester.

X.

A wynter garland of Sommer [fol. 45]
 fflovers made in manner of A
 Neweyeaes gyfte to the Right
 Worshipfull John Salusbury
 Esq^r of the body to the
 Queenes most exelent
 Maiestye
 1598.*

Cold frosty wynter hauing nipte my penne
 and Boreas Isycles nue hanging downe
 enforseth wytt and wysedome now and then
 to stand in dainger, and to feare the frowne
 of ripe depe knowledge and experience,
 that is my refuge and my sure defence,

I charme the coldnesse to forsake my hand,
 I couiure vp my spiryttes at this time.
 Goodmeaning tells me he my freind will stand,
 To vnderprop my tottering rotten ryme
 And I being armde with A presumptuous loue,
 from my goodwill disdanefulnes will shoue:

Therefore to thee sole patron of my good,
 I proffer vp the proffer of my hart,
 my vndeserved favoures vnderstood,
 to thee and none but thee I will impart:
 O grace them with thy gracious gracing looke
 that in pure kindnes¹ much haue vndertooke

O flattery great bandogge to the poore
 Ile tye thee in an Iron fetterd chaine

¹Ms. this *crossed out*.

Necessety shall goe from dore to dore
 Wheare skueking ² myzers and fatt churles remaine
 and feed thee with their crummes, there thou shalt
 perish
 thee in my hart fowle monster ile not chearysh

Jelliflower. A Jelliflowre whose sweet carnatian smell
 the hony gathering Bee doth alwaies loue
Daphadill. seekes to incomasse the sweet Daphadill
 and all her flowring vertues to approue
 they ioy to growe in gardens both togeather
 not fearing Boreas wrathfull stormy weather

Organy. Neare vnto theyse doth growe the Organye
Orice. and Orice that we name the Flower de luce
 delighting in each others company
 and in domme sylence doe their loues infuce
 they water one and other with that dewe
 that in the morning from their leaues doth flowe

Honysuckle. The Honysuckle hony es only last
Rose. fills vp the Arboure wheare the Rose doth growe
 and with her spreading braunches hath incompast
 the sharpe growne prickles that this plant doth show
 they doe embrace and in embracing ³ vowe
 Nature with nature will her force allowe.

Ladies **N**auel. The Ladies Nauell Nauell of delyghte [fol. 45^b]
 A pleasaunt and delityous lovely plante
Oleander. And Oleander whose rytech verteous sight
 Learned Apothicaries doe often wante
 bothe theyse do decke my garlands of rytech flowers
 and bewtefy faire Venus louely bowers.

² See *Eng. Dial Dict.* under "scouk."

³ Ms. loue crossed out.

- Stickadoue.** The stickadoue that lyes in Ladies brestes
The gentle pillow to soe faire A plante
scorning to haunt the ravens coleblack nestes
- Touchmenot.** And Touchmenot in this kind arte doth pante
both freinds, both favoryttes in perfect loue
is Touchmenot and kyndly Stickadoue.
- Amidst my lovely arbour there doth growe
the handmaid vnto perfect chastetye
- Agnus Castus.** ryth Agnus Castus that the world doth know
is A great queller of hott luxurye
to grace the loving humour of all these
- Hartsease.** I found A flower y^t most men call faire Hartsease.
- Ladies Seale.** Our Ladies Seale A Seale of perfect bewtie
that adds the waxe vnto the honyed Bee
- Yooke Elme.** and Yooke Elme that doth make men owe their dutie
theise prety plantes in favour doe agree
wishing vppon the Elme to set a seale
that might the moysture of this plant reveale
- Venus Look-
ing glasse.** Amongst all these is Venus Looking glasse
A louely plant to ⁴ please the gazing eye
- Hyacinthus.** and Hyacinthus that doth round incompasse
this fragraunt flower of maiesty
the queene of love sole paragon of blysse
this faire boy Hyacinthus stole to kysse.
- Strawbery.** With these is sett the spreading strawberye
both redd and whight, not pleasing to the smell
yet yeldes great comfort to the inward fancy
and for to quench the thirst doth much exell
- Angellica.** Angellica the plagues preservative
Lovely and faire mongst these plantes doth thriue.

⁴ Ms. gaze crossed out.

- Basill.** And Basill best beloude beloude of many
for the rare vertue that yt doth inclose
- Lauender.** and louely Lauander not vnknowne to any
smelling in operation like the Rose
Basill for Blessednes and blessed ioy
and Lauander beloude of Venus boy.
- Virgins bower.** All these do deck A Virgins lovely bower
[Sweet] and bewtyfie my garland in the spring
- Marierome.** sweet Marierome amongst them beares A power
of whom the sheapheards roundelaies doe sing
And gather yt on playing hollydaies
that doth reuiue ther homely springing ioyes.
- Rosemarye.** Remembring Rosemary that increaseth sence [fol. 46^a]
And doth reuiue the dulled memory
- [Arkeangell]. Arkeangell that doth never make offence
but is accounted gentle meeke and lovely
- Ladies smock.** Our Ladies smock doth overspread the rest
Vnder the which I sought to builde A nest
- And Last of all to make my garland neate
- Youthwort.** I placed Youthwort faire Affections lover
- Lady lacies.** And Lady Lacies mongst them tooke A seate
And thus I framd faire Venus Lovely bower
Where Cupid syttes and still his notes doth shifte
Singing thy prayes in A newe Yeares gifte.

finis Rob Chester.

XI.

Præcatio

Elizabeth that braunch of perfect blisse
 We call our queene for whom we all must pray
 raigne golden showers of peace vppon this land
 [that she in peace may weare the English crowne] ¹
 and lett thy Angells lead her vp and downe
 that she in peace may weare the English crowne
 this makes me still to pray vppon my knee
 and curst be he that praies not after me
 the lord preserve the howse of Salusburye

Amen Ro Chester

Elizabeth was the name of Sir John Salusbury's sister; see the Introduction, p. x.

XII.

*A poore Sheapheards introduction made in A
 merrimt of christmas at the house of the
 Right Worshipfull John Salusbury of
 Lleweny Esq^r Etc.*

Sheapheards be sylent and our musick cease
 heare duells our frolique freind of Arcady
 whose dogges defend our sheep from greedy wolues
 whose sheep doth cloth our silly sheapheard swaines
 whose oxen tills the grownd that yelds vs corne
 whose corne doth relieue the fatherles
 And fatherles still pray for his relieffe
 we of Arcadia sometime frolique swaines
 swaines that delight in homely pleasaunt mirth
 in due obedience and regard of loue
 shold heare present as newe yeares homely gifte

¹ Ms. a line drawn through this line.

peares Apples fildbieres or the hazell nutt
 or other fruite that this faire clymatt yelds
 but nipping winter and a forward spring
 blasted *our* trees and all *our* sommer budds
 whose blossomes shold haue yelded dainty fare
 therefore seing all giftes giftes that shold befreind¹ vs
 the balesome weather and cold spring denied
 In signe of honor and obedience [fol. 46^b]
 to the whight Lyon of *Arcadia*
 that doth defend *our* liues from ravenous beares
 and feeds vs with the pray that he *persues*
 A homely cuntry hornepipe we will daunce
 A sheapheards prety Gigg to make him sport
 and sing A madingall² or roundelay
 to please *our* Lordlike sheapheard lord³ of vs
 take hands take hands *our* hartes lett vs Advaunce
 and strive to please his humour with A daunce.

finis Rot Chester

XIII.

A poore sheapheards profecye

A milke whight Lion that betokned mercye
 did⁴ rainge About A pleasaunt wildernes
 where foxes Serpentes and devowring Tygers
 The long paude beare and stearne Rinocoros
 The fearefull hare and nimble footed Roe
 The vntamd Oliphant and other beastes
 beastes of sterne nature did this Lyon haunt

¹ Ms. befreinds.

² Ms. and *crossed out*.

³ Ms. squier *and then king written and crossed out*.

⁴ Ms. raig *crossed out*.

he often with his kindnes did them nowrish
 That Tyger-like his blood did seeke to perish
 A limping foxe that still the dogges did haunt
 barkes ² at this Lion: and the lordlike beast
 Smiles at his follie: O Gentillity
 how thow woldst quaile thy folish enemie
 A time shall come when as this Lion rores
 The poore lame foxe will hide him in a hole
 And all his petie ffreinds wil be Amazd
 And dare not peepe for feare: o misery
 When men like beastes ³ are wrought with knavery
 As for the rest that are this Lions freinds
 hee'le bid them welcome to his Lordlike caue
 And kill fatt venison to make them merry
 Thus ends my Simple Sheapheards profecy
 True as my creed though he deferres the time
 he'le make the foxe the pillery to clyme
 The Lion bids yow welcome once agen
 And craues his fellow ffreinds to say A men.

finis Robt Chetr.

XIV.

[fol. 47^a]

A Conceite.

fflowle pried it self breeds envy long
 And is A poyson fresh and strong
 And by experience it is knowne
 To be as marrow in the bone
 And those that grow of sundry seeds
 At last do proue but stinking weeds
 And if pure wheat be sowde in tares
 The wheat Assuredly it mars.

finis John Salusbury.

² Interlined above braies crossed out.

³ Ms. altered from beastes like men.

XV.

A Concete to the former.

A base bread haggard that my chaunce doth light
with the Imperious eagle in her flight
and gainst all nature in her nest doth breed
and with the eagles food his yong ons feed:
shall this great grace alter the buzards mind,
I it must be for kitt will after kind;
havinge no name but given by the nurse
in basenes¹ borne and now by basenes worse
for having stole A name from gentry,
pried is his coate by lawfull heraldrie
base hawtie pried did soe his kindred blott,
that in this fortune he himselfe forgott:
but Joues great bird doth laffe this kight to scorne
to se how priede his basenes had oerborne
and pluck his winges he shal not mount so
 highe
but fall into the cave of beggarye.

finis J. S.

XVI.

Ornatissimo Viro, Summoq^{ue} Honore [fol. 47^b]
Dignissimo, Johanni Salusbury Armigero
Carmen gratulatorium.

Vestra meas dignas expectat gratia grates,
At plusquam grat'is gratia digna tua est.
Ergo dabo; sed verba dabo; nam verba supersunt.
At fallunt, dices, qui dare verba solent

¹ *Corrected from* baesnes.

Verum est; et quoniam non fallam munera verbis
 Ipse aliquid plusquam verbula mera dabo;
 Carmina nempe dabo: sed sunt haec verba: quid obstat
 Verba darem? cum alij vendere verba solent.
 Tuam dignitatem
 Mirifice colens.

Edoaurdus d'Otthen.

XVII.

A welcome home [fol. 48^a]
To the Right Worshipfull John Salusbury
Esqr of the bodie to the Queenes most
Exelent Maiestye

Your eares hauing hard the Nightingall soe long,
 I feare will blame my hoarse-throat rauens song:
 The swanns that laue their blacke feet in the streames,
 Haue in their sweetnes sang you golden theames:
¹ Court-bewtefying Poets in their verse,
 Homerian like sweete stanzoes did rehearse:
 Then blame not my homebred vnpollisht witt,
 That in the Nightowles cabinet doe sitt:
 Yf that my lines be blunt, or harsh, or ill,
 Seing they proceed from rustick Martius quill;
 Yet how I striue to please my still please freinde,
 Let my true harty thoughts my lines commende:

Bould and too bould.

To tye my thoughtes to smoth fast flatterie
 Were for to scourge with whipps poore Innocence
 And yf my penne should not explaine my dutie

¹ Ms. And the *crossed out*.

I might be blamed much of negligence
 Speake trembling Innocence and speake the truth,
 That Honestie ingrafted in thy youth;

As A ritch Iewell of esteemed prize
 That almost all men thinke Invaluable,
 Adds comfort to the poore mans gazing eyes,
 And to himself is thought inestimable
 But being lost, death is not counted cruell
² To parte his hart seing he hath lost his Iewell.

Yf naked need oppressions chieffest freind,
 With want did touch this poore sad harted soule;
 His Iewell was his pawne; and in the end,
 Redeemd him from proud envies fond controule,
 Then found againe tenne times his greef before
 With ioye is now redoubled, more and more;

I lost my Iewell then I sate me downe,
 Vnder the fatall yewe and hoples pine,
 One whose greene leaue the sunne did alwaies froune,
 As scorning on that mournfull place to shine,
 With eyes orecome with teares and hart with sorrow
 The black cloked Syppres ³ sisters aid did borrow.

My Inke waxt pale, to se my face looke pale, [fol. 48^b]
 My penne being pluckt from A black ravens wing,
 Would wright no Sonnetts but Vlisses tale,
 And of his tenne yeares absence for to sing,
 Tenne weekes to my sad lingring miserie,
 Were more then tenne yeares to Penellope.

² This line is added at the side by the same hand.

³ Through the trimming of the bottom of this page only the tops of S and pp remain and y has been entirely lost.

Then how I ioy at theese weekes happie ending,
 Let my forepassed greef at full relate,
 How pleasure in my brest the time is spending
 That whilome liude Alone disconsolate,
 ffound is my Iewell; Iewell vnto manie,
 More pretious in *our* hartes by farr then anie;

Welcome thow great Armado, frought with treasure,
 Vnto the port of thy desired rest;
 Our longing thought wisht for thee out of measure
 As in thy Anchorage delighting best,
 Thy bodie is *our* barke thy hands *our* ores,
 To guide vs from ship ruinating shores;

Thy feete *our* sterne, thine eies *our* Admirall
 That like A lanthorne leads vs to the baie,
 Thy head *our* compasse that we steare with all,
 Thy hart *our* Indean treasure and *our* ioy,
 Thy words *our* thundring Cannon that doth teare
 Our foemens ramped walls, walles full of feare,

Sailes, maste, and tacklinge, all are comprehended.
 With in thy self that hast vs still befrended;
 ffor if thow hoist thy proud sailes in the wind
 Blowne forth with honors resolucion
 They strike their maine top & to the Assigne
 The chieffest place of commendacion

ffor yf the Lyon rore by sea or land
 The craftie forrest beasts Amazd will stand
 Long linc thow milkwhight terror to thy ffoes
 With the great Lyones of B r y t a n i a
 Whose verie name her foemen overthrowes
 As subiugate to royall A n g l i a :

Deare in her sight be thow, and in *our* eyes,
 As deare be thow to vs as dearnes lies
 And to knitt vp my thoughts lest I shold rome
 To me deare Lyon tenne times welcome home

Yours in all duty: etc.

R Chest ⁴

XVIII.

[fol. 49^a]

Mors certa, incerta dies, incertior hora!

My prime of youth, is but a frost of cares
 My feast of Ioye, is but a dish of paine
 My croppe of corne, is but a field of tares
 And all my goods, is but vaine hope of gaine
 The day is fled, and yet I sawe noe sunne
 And now I liue, & yet my lief is dunne

The Spring is past, & yet I haue not sprung
 The trees are dead, and yet my leaves be greene
 My yooth is past, & yet I am but yonge,
 I was in world, & yet I was not seene
 My thried is cate,¹ and yet it is not spunne
 And now I liue, and yet my liffe is dunne

I sought for death, and found it in the wombe
 I lookt for liffe, and knew it was a shade
 I trod the earth, and knew it was my tombe
 And now I die and now I was but made
 The glasse is full, and now the glasse is runne
 And now I liue and now my liffe is donne

Finis q^d:

⁴ Signature half trimmed away. Only the tops of letters remain.

¹ Ms.? cale.

These verses were composed by Chidiock Tichborne, who was executed in 1586 for complicity in the Babington plot. Numerous manuscript copies of this poem exist: mss. Harl. 36, fol. 269^b, 6910, fol. 141^b; Sloane 3769, fol. 1^b; Lansdowne 777, fol. 66^b; Egerton 923, fol. 56^b; B. M. Addit. 30,076, fol. 27^b, 30,982, fol. 24 and 160; Ashmol. 781, fol. 138. This piece was first printed, as Mr. Percy Simpson kindly informs me, in a tract which appeared at the time of the execution: see Huth's *Fugitive Poetical Tracts*, First Series, No. 26. Before the end of the 16th century it was printed again, in John Mundy's *Songs and Psalms* (1594). The first two stanzas were included in Richard Alison's collection, *An Hour's Recreation in Music* (1606), from which they have been reprinted in Arber's *English Garner*, vi (1883), 394 and Bullen's *Shorter Elizabethan Poems*, p. 266. The full text of the piece appeared in *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ* (1654), pp. 511-512. The fact that Sir John Salusbury's brother, Thomas, was also among the Babington conspirators gives special point to the appearance of this poem in the Salusbury ms.

XIX.

Faith needs noe foile; foiles helpe where faith doth neede
 Pure white can grace it self self grace is best
 What perfect is by aide wantes of perfection
 for aide bewraies a want in that which needs it
 and faith in words is a bare ¹ affection
 as fire which is but fire when fuell feeds it,
 yet most hould words and showes true meaninges measure
 then faile I of meede since words faile me
 but hold my faith sweet Sainet like hidden treasure
 which is more ritch vnseene then what yow see
 Soe is my faith but gracd, thoughe none haue knowne it
 yf yow to whom I owe my faith will owne it.

Finis q^d/¹ Ms. corrected from base.

XX.

[fol. 77^b]*Certaine Necessary obseruations For Health*¹

Jo. Salusbury 1603

Eschewe lewde lust yf thou be wise, hote spice and wines forbear:
 Fly su[r]feit, riot and excesse, and eke long sweating here.
 Rawe frutes thy stomacke will annoy: beware of drinking late:
 Long watching with disordred hours, will soone impair thy state.
 Impatience is noe frend to health, a fretting irefull moode:
 Will stirre the vaines and hurt the braine, and soone infect the bloode.
 Eate seldome of the salt and sower, the windy rootes eschewe:
 The lemon and the coucumber will make thy stomack rewe.
 The bale and bane of eies and sight is venus winde and fyre:
 Oft looking downe doth hurt them much, cold water they desire.
 To rubb, to combe, to stretch the armes, yf fasting that thou bee:
 To body, head, and spleene also, are holesome thinges for thee.
 Noone sleepes, much slouth, and sitting still, what breed they els
 but wo:

Who euer saw a slouthfull man a healthfull body shewe.
 To ache, to goute, to stone, to reume, to palsey, pyles and all:
 A lazie body by desert is subiect and most thrall.
 Vse exercise then in measure and meane, yf sound thou wilt
 be still:

But after sweat beware of cold, for that will breede much ill.
 Ware how thou sit or lie on ground, for that thy ioyns will lame:
 The body drawes soone from the earth, that will corrupt the same.
 The early morning mountaine walkes, and eke the runing streames:
 Refresh the wearied spirits of man, when Phebus shews his beames.
 But ware at night when dewe is fallen, and sunne by course is set:
 The noysome ayre ere thou beware, will soone thy corps infect.
 Apo[t]hecaries shop of drugges let not thy stomack be:

¹ A printed copy of this piece is bound up in Christ Church MS. 183 (fol. 4^a).

Nor vse noe phisick till thou neede, thy frende aduise thee.
 Let seldome blood but when disease, or plurisies doo call:
 But after fiftie yeares be past, ware bleed thou not at all
 Obserue these rules and lessons well, keep neck and feete from cold:
 So mayst thou liue by natures course, till yeares haue made thee old.

XXI.

Sweet mvses come & lend *your* helpinge handes [fol. 82]
 to Rule my *penne* which quakinge standes to write
 ffear e bides me stay but hope doth egge me on
 to putt in practize what's my hartes delight
 ffayne would I write so 'twere without offence
 I'le venter once my mvse goe packe thee hence

Goe blasse abrod the prid of Britance soyle
 for vertue manhood and for curtesie
 The onely perle *which* all prowd wale doth foyle
 for kindly favour and sobrietie
 Kind vnto all both high & lowe degree
 to Riche & poore is worthy *Salusbury*

Beloued of all and Ioyed of each wight
 scared of his foes & loued of his friendes
 Courteus of speech & show to all mens sight
 free of his purse, the flowre of all his kine
 Wher e're I goe whiles lif doth last in me
 my tonge shall speake of courteus *Salusbury*

Did Troy but stand *which* nowe lyes ruinate
 & beauteus helen liueinge in the same
 Should paris thinke with face so feminate
 or smooth tounge wordes to wyne that grekish dame
 No 'twere in vayne to enterprise that deed
 since *Salusbury* lives that paris doth exceed.

Was paris beautifull? why so is Salusbury,
 was paris courteus? Salusbury is more kind
 Was paris manlike? & is not Salusbury
 the manlikest wight in Britaine you can find
 In all respectes paris vnlike to thee
 Helen revives to love sweete Salusbury

Yf Salusbury did enioye faire Helens love
 & had her self within the wales of troy
 The greekes were best their siege for to remoove
 for 'twere in vayne gainst Salusbury to enioy
 His manlike armes ffrom of the greekish wales
 would tosse downe pilleres like to tennis bales

Blest be the pappes that first did give him sucke
 blest be the wombe that first did him conceyve
 Blest be they all & tenne tymes blest be he
 blest be the tree which sprwng forth ¹ such a lefe
 Blest be they all & tenne tymes blest be he
 for whome so meny blessings vtred be

Curst may they be that Salusbury seekes to wronge
 curst may they be that Salusbury seekes to shame
 Curst may they be that with their slanderous tounge
 seekes to slander sweete John Salusburys name
 Curst be they all & tenne tymes curst be he
 that speakes one worde against sweete Salusbury

Hence mvste I goe but mvses stay you heare
 I mvst departe yet shew you my goodwill
 When I ame gon see that you doe not feare
 to shew *your* masteres fruites of simple skill
 ffor while he lives where e're he goe or ride
 sweete John Salusburys name shall in him bide

¹ Ms. fouth.

Denbighe adew pray thou for Salusbury [fol. 82^b]
 north wales adew pray ye for Salusbury
 The sweetest gemme that cures *your* melencolie
 is kind & faire & courteus Salusbury
 Pray you for him & I will pray for yee
 so god blesse vs & courteus Salusbury

Nowe mvses stay I may no longer write
 to drolle ame I to speake of Salusbury prais
 Some finer wittes hearafter shall indite
 & putt his name in coridons roondelays
 Then sweete philida & coridon agree
 to singe in prays of lovinge Salusbury

And I'le intreat dianas trayne to stand
 to lend ye help with all their siluer stringes
 The nimphes shall dance with Salusbury hand in hand
 treadinge the measures on the pleasant plaines
 And thus in myddest of all his mirth & glee
 I'le take my leaue of courteus Salusbury
 finis quoth Danielle.

XXII.

But stay a while thou hast forgott thy parte [fol. 83^a]
 retourne againe & ere thou goe ffrom hence
 Thinke vpon her whome thou arte bound in harte
 in humble duty for to recompence
 ffor whom he loves shee neuer hates I see
 so kind & courteus is m[istress] Salusbury

from princely blood & Ryale stocke she came
 of egles brood hatcht in a loftie nest
 The earle of derby & the kinge of manne
 her father was her brother now possest
 Then hapie he but thris more hapie's shee
 to mache her self with lovely Salusbury

A lovelier man all europe cannot find
 so kind to her & she so kind to him
 Like turtles true so doth this cuple buyld
 heauens graunte this their ioyes may ne're be dime
 But flwrish still as doth the lawrel tree
 & hartes content rest both to him & shee

Nowe mvst I goe my penne hath runne his fill
 Gould have I not to gwrder ¹ her with all
 But yet to shew some parte of my good will
 the best I have I humblie parte with all
 Accept it then a portion of my store
 'tis my good will would god 'twere tenne tymes more

Thus for my bowldnes pardon I do crave
 prayeing the heauens to send you both content
 Ioy of your ofspringe euer for to have
 A d m e t u s lif vnto you both be lent
 God keepe your troope both high & lowe degree
 tho last not lest vale m[istress] Ane stanley
 finis quoth Danielle

XXIII.

In Motto Mecænatis.

[fol. 83^b]*Posse et Nolle Nobile.*

A worthie man deserues a worthie Motte,
 As badge therby his Nature to declare.
 Wherefore the fates, of purpose did alotte,
 to this braue Squire, this Symbole sweet & rare:
 Of Might to spoyle, but yett of Mercie spare.
 A Symbole sure to Salsberie due by right:
 whose still doth ioyne, his Mercie with his Might.

¹ ? guerdon.

Thoughe Lyonlike, his Posse might take place,
 yett like a lambe he Nolle vseth aye;
 Right like himself (the floure of Salsberies race)
 who neuer as yett a poore man woulde dismaye;
 but princokes pryde, he vsd to daunt allwaye,
 And so doth still: wherby is knowne full well,
 His Noble mynde, and Manhood to excell.

All crauen cures y^t comes of castrell kynde,
 are knowne full well; when they thier might woulde strayne
 The poore t'oppresse, that woulde their fauoure fynde,
 or yelde himself, their ffrendshippe to attayne.
 Then, seruile sottes triumphes in might amayne
 But such as comes from Noble Lyons race,
 (like this braue Squire) who yeeldes, recyues to grace.
 Haud ficta loquor. Hughe Gryphyth.

This poem was printed in 1597 by Robert Parry in his *Sinetes Passions*, from which it was reprinted by Dr. Grosart in his Introduction to Chester's *Love's Martyr*, p. xvi. In a document dated March 17 in the 45th year of Elizabeth, Hugh Gruffith appears as the holder of land at Wrexham (*Archæol. Cambrensis* Suppl. Vol. I, Original Doc., p. ccelii). The same name occurs also among the tenants of Marchwiail (i. e., Ruabon)—*Ibid.*, pp. exciv-excv.

XXIV.

J. S. his amasement.

Griefe is the sea that ouerflowes my hart, [fol. 84]
 Droun'de by my thoughts, that doe procure my smart,
 My thoughts, and griefes be waywarde Dearest Deare,
 Because I misse thee, when I wish thee neare/
 And that I rest vppon thy auntient Loue,
 Which change of time, nor absense cannot moue,
 But all thy thoughts of me (I feare) are flowne,
 Because thow think'st I holde thee not mine owne/
 Or else thy hart, and thoughts, wolde breake with paine,

To think vpon the grieffe that I sustaine/
 Being such, as bearing in my trobled brest.
 Olde auntient Loue: Nue griefes will neuer rest.
 For thee my trust, my Life, my hart, my restles ioy
 Is knowne, is pawn'd, is trobled with annoy.
 Compare the cause of my much strainge estate/
 And thou wilt thinke I am vnfortunate.
 And yt wolde make thy womanish breast to bleede,
 With sobbs of sorowe, from fowle grieffe not freedde,
 Which I in honest Loue will rather hide,
 Then thou for me impatience sholdst abide/
 And still be hardly thought of, and endure
 Such plurall death of minde, which you procure/
 Rather then you shall once your finger moue,
 Or cause to ake: I will conceale my Loue:
 Vntill the time my thoughts, and cares be free/
 I cannot rest (my Sweet) but thinke on thee/
 I wolde not wish my grieffe (my Loue) be knowne,
 Nor in the popular opemouth'de worlde be blowne/
 That is the cause that makes my cariadge strainge
 To thee thou think'st: and yet mine eye doth rainge
 Sparcling out Loue fires, on thy Lillie brest
 Wheare PHILVMELA builds her softe-down'de nest.
 That auntient Loue to thee I haue profest.
 Makes thee to thinke I hate thee with the rest.
 Though still I dote: and wolde not haue thee knowe yt
 Till time, and place, doe serue for me to shewe yt,
 My head, my hart, mine eyes, my Lippes, my tounge,
 Shall medytate thy praise, and singe a songe,
 Of neuer dyinge Loue: set to the Lute
 By great APOLLO, making VENVS mute,
 As blussing, for to heare thy bewties glorie,
 And vertues to bedecke my happy storye;
 Sleeping, or waking, going, or sitting still,
 Seeing, hearing, tasting, feeling, speaking, shall fulfill,
 And with this Concordant Pilgrim must agree

Vntill the time that thoughts and I be free
 All dismall death, all plunging plagues, all greenous grones,
 All gulphes of grieffe, all woes, and piteous mones,
 All anguish, and what else procureth paine [fol. 84^v]
 For thee I feele, and euer shall sustaine
 All pleasures, pastimes, mirth, and luckye ioyes
 All happy howres, and euer blessed daies,
 Are gone, are fled, are vaded and are spente,
 Vnlesse thy Crimson-colored hart relent;
 And that my happes, my future hopes fulfill,
 My hopes by happes mischaunce my hart will kill.
 Soe hopes, and happes, and all shalbe deceaued,
 Vnlesse by thee my sweete they be releaued./

Τελως J. S.

XXV.

I[n]fausto Herculeo cunctos qui robere præstas, [fol. 86^v]
Optime flos patriæ, vinces virtute cœvos.
Ante oculos Domini semper timor esto tonantis.
Nobile pectus habes, magnorum dignus avorum,
Non prece, nec pretio tua mens corumpitur villo.
Esto viris tutela bonis, et sontibus horror,
Solamen miseris, sis mite levamen egenis.
Sospitet in patriæ dulcis te comoda christus.
Ascanius procures inter ceu splendidus extas,
Luna velut stellas excellens luce minores.
Vtere consilij præbere senilibus aures,
Sic tibi continget rerum pax læta tuarum.
Belle nunc mores collustrat candor avitus.
Vive diu spes ac certissima cura tuorum
Rarum quem sentit vicinia tota patronum.
Innocuus longum traduc feliciter ævum.
Vrsula fælices, hæroica fæmina, coniux
Salua Sybillenos cum nato compleat annos

finis Bernardus Iones, 1596.

XXVI

[fol. 87]

Delite doth nessell in her comelie face
On heade or heare like radiant Phebus strange
Radiant eies that light the darkest place
O heavenlie eies such heare Craddna twynes
Two Cheris fel in beaten swgwr white
Her cheekes of them the coller do reserve ¹
In her sweete lippes; the taste of them are sweete
Eternall praise, fayer Cheekes sweet lippes deserve

Her naked necke as white as silver swanne
As silver swanne or rarest lilie flowre
Let silver byrd or lily flower wax wan
Such white is hers as ever shall endure
Appelles payntinge venus face and breaste
Lefte the other partes impolisd [*sic?*] without arte
Lord all the world canot expresse the rest
 of this sweete wighte sole solace of my harte

finis J. S.

XXVII.

[fol. 87^b]

This Poyisie was presented In A Maske att Berine In Christmas
 the xxvijth oF Desember 1586: vnto M^{ris} Katherin Thelloall,
 Beinge written In A Sheelde And Deliuerede by William Winne
 OF LLanver Esquier at the Mariage of Iohn Salisburie of
 LLeweny Esquier Her Sonne and heaire wth Vrsula Stanley
 Daughter vnto the righte Honorable Henrie Earle of Derbye
 And devised by Roger Salisburie of bachegerige Esquier

Dame Venus deare youe Maye Rejoyce
 at your Sonne Cupides happye Choyse

¹ The ninth line was first written at this point and afterwards crossed out.

To hym as By the Gods Asseignde
For to delighte hys doulfull mynde &c.

This other Poysie was p^rsentede in The former Maske in A
Sheelde alsoe by Rog: Sal: of bach: esquier Vnto Vr: Sal: wyfe
Vnto M^r Io: Sa: Afore saide And devised by the sayde Rog: Sal:

The Lyon Rampinge for his Praye
A princlye byrde hee dyd Assaye
and hauinge winges to flye at Will,
yet Caughte her faste & houlds hir still
Wth hyr to sporte as Lyckes them beste,
Thoughe Lions stoute vse not to jest
A thinge most strange yet is ytt trewe,
God graunt them Joy and so Adewe.

Finies Vrsula Salisburye

1592.

XXVIII.

Dames diamond: dame beautyes darling deare [fol. 88*]
Onix of honour: voide of staynes deface
Ruby enrichd: with favours comely cheare
Ofspring of ould: renownmed nobele race
Type in thy tyme: of ¹ virtue gifftes and grace
High helicon: thy walke beseemeth well
Yeald nymphe your seate: goe otherwhere to dwell

Hymene hath: handfasted wedlocks knott
Adon to thee: mad scape from venus Lapp
Lykyng hath ledd: thy hand to drawe thy lott
Syth hymene: hath handed thee thy happ
And adon eke: portrayed lykinges mapp
Lynke harte to hand: and love to Like knytt fast

¹ Ms. verte crossed out.

Live Long to Love: and Love while Lyf doth last
 What goodwill frames no goodwill blames.
 finis

[Signature obliterated by pen marks.]

XXIX.

[fol. 88^b]

Dayne not to love where love ys freelye lent
 Or yf goodwill by love be truly ment
 Refuce not love that will not soone relent
 Once lovd in hart will love and be content
 Therby thy love maye grace thy sex and kynd
 How that a woman beares a lovinge ¹ mynd
 Yeld then to love and love be sure to fynd

Helena fayre and lucrece chast of cheare
 Adoreth thee and seemely service sweare
 Lavinia and penelope do heare
 Suich fame of thee that they thy presens feare
 And adon eke thy love and coupled make
 Left venus bowre for thy sweete beautyes sake
 Like love and live and so my leave I take.

no want of will but want of skyl
 what love deviseth no love dyspyseth

finis: Jo Salusburye 1593.

XXX.

*In obitum Catharinæ Tudir
 Epitaphium.*

[fol. 174]

Hic defuncta iacet Catharina, britannica Phoenix,
 quam rapuit Celeri, mors inopina manu.
 Hæc fuit egregij proles generosa Tuderi,
 quondam Roberto neptis amata suo.

¹ *Interlined above constant crossed out.*

Non opus, antiquos proavos extollere, cuncti
 agnoscunt generis stemmata clara sui.
 Quattuor illa viris, vinelo connexa iugali,
 traduxit vitam laude, et honore piam.
 E quibus illa trium, Crudelia fata gemebat,
 illius at quarto mors dolet atra vivo.
 Horum de primis floret generosa propago,
 quam Christus dextra protegat ille sua.
 Salsburius reliquos inter supereminet omnes,
 spes gentis, summus quem regat ipse deus.
 Illa peragravit multas tutissima terras,
 secura in medijs fluctibus illa fuit.
 Nam protector eras illi venerande Iehova,
 permansit solo numine tuta tuo.
 Vixit sex decies, si demas quattuor annos,
 dormijt in domino tunc Catharina deo.
 Languida mortifero repleta Berennia luctu, [fol. 174^b]
 deplorat dominæ tristia fata suæ.
 Splendida lugubres patitur Lawenia¹ planetus,
 heu quantos fletus angulus omnis habet,
 Maynan amena dolet, Melai gemit, utque Bachegraig,
 tristia sunt istis pectora multa locis.
 Splendida consimiles sensit Gwederia luctus,
 denique Plaswardi regia tecta dolet.
 Edwardus vitam ducit Theloallus amaram,
 amisit sponsam (res miseranda) suam.
 Luctisono tristes resident in corde dolores,
 quales ex animo sæcula nulla trahent.
 Tota dolorificum perpessa est Rossia luctum,
 vnius ob mortem pectora mille gemunt.
 Cum genitore puer flet, cum genitrice puella,
 neptis cum vetula, cum vetuloque nepos.
 Sponsaque cum sponso patitur gemebunda dolorem,
 cumque nuru socrus, cum generoque socer.

¹ I. e. Lleweni.

Et ne prolixus longis ambagibus vtar,
 præ fletu madidas omnibus ecce genas.
 Sed quid Conducunt lachrimæ, suspiria, planctus?
 aspera non lachrimæ flectere fata valent.
 Hæc est nimirum mortalibus orbita Cunctis,
 vt Caro pulvis erat, sic caro pulvis erit.
 Sed tamen ista caro, de pulvere viva resurget,
 tunc erit æterno consociata deo.
 Iam Catharina vale, summo dilecta Iehovæ,
 grataque Cælicolis, o Catharina, vale.
 per me Owennum Jones, Clericum.¹

XXXI.

Dialogus

[fol. 175]

Argumentum dialogi.

Omnis Catrinam populus deplorat ademptam.

Sic author populi luctum Cohibere laborat.

Interlocutores populus et author.

Populus. O gemebunda dies ævo tristissima nostro,
 o mala mestitiæ tempora plena feræ.
 Terribiles o quam nescitis parcere Parcæ?
 quantaque sunt nostris gaudia vestra malis?

Eighty-six lines in all, concluding:

[fol. 176]

Populus. Sic faciam; summusque pater mea verba benigne
 excipiat: dic tu Candide lector. amen.
 per eundem Owennum Jones Clericum.

¹ Owen Jones appears again in several Welsh mss. in the Brit. Museum: Addit. 14,964, 14,965 (end), and 15,056.

XXXII.

[fol. 177]

In obitum illustrissimæ dominæ Catharinæ Tudir Berennensis carmen lugubre, quæ obiit mortem xxvij die Augusti anno do: 1591.

Heu modo musa veni, lugubria dicere fata,
mixtaque sit lachrimis nœnia mœsta tuis.
Claræ ploremus Catharinæ funera Cuncti,
quam nobis triplices eripuerè deæ.

One hundred and eight lines in all, concluding:

Molliter ossa, precor, recubent sub marmore tecta, [fol. 178^b]
tu tamen elysijs ipsa quiesce. Vale.

David Jones.

XXXIII.

[fol. 179]

The Epitath of mistris Katheryn Theloall whoe deceased the xxvijth day of Auguste and was buried the first of September folowinge in the yeare of our lord god 1591.

The blustringe blastes of sturdie storme, wyth duskie vapore
Covers,
the welkyn aye in rackinge Cloudes, the boysterous
Boreas hovers.
Triton beinge wett wyth raging waves the mightie whall
doyth stride,
to saue hymself from Neptunes wrath in ffrothy waters
glide.

Ninety-two lines in all, concluding:

[fol. 180^b]

And then no doubt in tyme you shall, wyth her in heaven
appeere
for to enioye her Companie, as earst you haue donne
heere.
finis, Robert Parry gentleman.

[fol. 182]

Wyth our redeemer Christ, whoe graunt vs all his heavenly
 grace
that flittinge hence, in blisse wyth hym, for ever we may
 haue place.
 finis.

Doctor Robert Salusbury was an uncle of our Sir John Salusbury; he married Margaret daughter to Edward Stanley (see Dwnn's *Heraldic Visit. of Wales*, Ed. Samuel R. Meyrick, Welsh mss. Soc. Llandovery, 1846, II. 331). I am not certain whether he was the same as Sir Robert Salusbury Knt., Sheriff of the County of Denbigh in 1597 (*Hist. MSS. Com. Report on Welsh mss.*, I, p. 799), who died 5 June, 1601 (*Hist. MSS. Com.*, Report XI, App. Part VII, p. 146).

POEMS

by

SIR JOHN SALUSBURY

included in a small volume dedicated to him
by "Robert Parry, Gent." printed in 1597,
of which the unique copy is preserved in the
Library of S. R. Christie-Miller, Esq^{re}, at
Britwell Court.

THE

[D. 6 verso]

Patrone his pa-
thetical Posies,
Sonets, Maddri-
galls, & Rown-
delayes.

Together

With Sinetes

Dompe

Plena verecun|di culpa pu|doris erat.

POESIE I.

[D. 7 recto]

The patrones conceyte:

Domesticke Goddes of the Sea-whal'd Isle,
 Heau'ns erected trophies of thy prayes,
 AVRORAS blush, that beautifies thy smile,
 Shines far more bright then Phœbus goulden rayes,
 Natures chiefe pride, the map of beauties grace,
 Loues louely sweete, which vertue doth embrace.

Of-spring of fludds, borne of the salt-sea foame,
 Thoughts-maze that doth to Pallas bower inclines
 A Commet, that in starrie night doth gloame.
 And doth presage of misteries diuine?
 An ornament, bedeck'd with goulden tyres,
 A pearle in camp'd in strength of chaste desires.

Reposed rest of ADON's ardent looke.
 Thy Christall-pointed eies (like Saphyres blue,
 Set in the snowe) doe hide a bayted hooke:
 Which doth intrap by force of Goulden hue:
 Were ADON here to viewe thy VENVS eye
 Could ADON such a VENVS suite denye.

Olympus Queene, that doth commaunde the skyes,
 Whose shining beam's doe light the westerne Isle,
 No base aspect in thy sweete bodie lies,
 Thy fauours doe the stealing time beguile:
 For precious breath so doth perfume the ayre,
 That all applaude thou onl art sweete and faire.

The Radian beam's of natur's purest die, [D. 7 verso]
 With honours Equipage long liue thy fame,
 Whose siluer arkes, surpassing Christall skie,

Doth force loue Queene to reuerence thy name:
 Starrs doe inuay, that earth retaineth thee,
 From making Fourth amongst the graces Three.

Heau'ns newe ioy, earth's possessed wonder,
 The welkins pride,¹ if they might thee embraece,
 As they did IOVES loue that kills with thunder,
 Thy memorie her beautie doth deface.
 Liue long thou star, which in the North doth shine,
 That noble worth's may fill thy sacred shrine.

Ympe graft with vertue in her tender yeeres,
 Deriuing honour from her noble stocke,
 Which Needles weare? for honour still appeer's
 Within her browe, which doth fames cradle rocke;
 Whose searching wit, dipt in MINERVAS vaine,
 Fraught with content, doth Pallas prayses staine.

HIBBLA hath Bees, stor'd with a sweete encrease,
 And shee hath beautie, furnished with grace,
 Liue stinges doe pricke, though hony's taste to please,
 So woundes her beautie those which it embrace:
 A Lampe of glorie shines in thee alone,
 Liue long in earth thou match-lesse Paragone.

POSIE II.

[D. 8 recto]

The Patrone's affection.

Launterne of loue the patrone due of lore,
 Light some beame my affection to guide,
 Amongst the drerie throbbes encreasing sore,
 Sore in the vaile of heart where I them hide:
 Languishing in delight I doe delight to pine,

¹ Printed ptide.

And can I pine a more contented paine,
Hart once mine-owne, is nowe possession thine,
Yeilde then to yeilde this hearts due entertaine.
Honour is the guest, let bounty be my prize,
Truth be the page of my admired light,
Occasion be thou prest at my aduize,
Regarding hand, and hart, t'attend her sight.
Or else my heart and minde I hould in hand:
Doe then my hope confirme that hope may stand.

POSIE III.

The patrones phantasie.

Tormented heart in thrall, **Y**ea thrall to loue,
Respecting will, **H**earth-breaking gaine doth grow,
Euer **D**OLOBELIA, **T**ime so will proue,
Binding distresse, **O** gem wilt thou allowe,
This fortune my will **R**epose-lesse of ease,
Vnlesse thou **L**EDA, **O**uer-spread my heart,
Cutting all my ruth, dayne **D**isdaine to cease,
I yeilde to fate, and welcome endles **S**mart.

POSIE IIIL.

[D. 8 verso]

The Patrons pauze in ode.

Dimpl's flourish, beauties grace,
Fortune smileth in thy face,
Eye bewrayeth honours flower,
Loue is nourish'd in thy bower,
In thy bended brow doth lye,
Zeale imprest with chastitie.
Love's darling deere,

Opale lippes of corall hue,
 Rarer die then cherries newe,
 Arkes where reason cannot trie,
 Beauties riches which doth lye,
 Entomb'd in that fayrest frame,
 Touch of breath perfumes ¹ the same.
 O rubie cleere.

Ripe ADON fled VENVS bower,
 Ayming at thy sweetest flower,
 His ardent loue forst the same,
 Monted agents of his flame:
 Orbe to whose enflamed fier,
 Loue incens'd him to aspire.
 Hope of our time,

Oriad's of the hills drawe neere,
 Nayad's come before your peere:
 Flower of nature shining shoes,
 Riper then the falling rose,
 Entermingled with white flower,
 Stayn'd with vermillion's power.
 Nestl'd in our clime.

[E. 1 recto]

The siluer swans sing in poe,
 Silent notes of newe-spronge woe,
 Tuned notes of cares I sing,
 Organ of the muses springe,
 Patures pride inforceth me,
 Cu'n to rue my destinie.
 Starre shew thy might,

Helens beautie is defac'd,
 Io's graces are disgrac'd,
 Reaching not the twentieth part,

¹ Printed petfumes.

Of thy gloases true desart,
 But no maruaile thou alone,
 Eu'n art VENYS paragone,
 Arm'd with delight.

Iris coulors are to base,
 She would make APELLES gaze,
 Resting by the siluer streame,
 Tossing nature seame by seame,
 Pointing at the Christall skie,
 Arguing her maiestie,
 Loues rampire stronge

[E. 1 verso]

Hayre of Amber, fresh of hue,
 Wau'd with goulden wyers newe,
 Riches of the finest mould,
 Rarest glorie to behould,
 Pompe with natures vertue graft,
 Engines newe for dolors fraught
 Eu'n there are spronge,

A Iem fram'd with Diamounds,
 In whose voice true concord sounds,
 Ioy to all that ken thy smile,
 In thee doth vertue fame beguile,
 In whose beautie burneth fier,
 Which disgraceth Queene desier:
 Sauce all compare,

Loue it selfe being brought to gaze,
 Learnes to treade the louers maze;
 Lying vncou'red in thy looke,
 Left for to vnclaspe the Booke:
 Where enroul'd thy fame remaines,¹

¹ Printed remaines.

That IVNOS blush of glory staines:
Blot out my care.

Spheare containing all in all,
Onely fram'd to make men thrall:
 Onix deck'd with honours worth,
 On whose beautie bringeth foorth: [E. 2 recto]
 Smiles ou'r clouded with disdaine,
 Which loyall heart doth paine:
Voyde of disgrace,

AVRORA's blush that decks thy smile,
Waying louers to beguile:²
 Where curious thoughts built the nest,
 Which neu'r yeildes to louers rest:
 Wasting still the yeilding eye,
 Whilst he doth the beautie spie
Rea'd in her face.

Lampe enric'hd with honours flower,
Blossome gracing VENVS bower:
 Bearing plumes of feathers white,
 Wherein Turtles³ doe delighte,
 Sense would seme to weake to finde,
 Reason's depth in modest minde:
Yeilding desire.

Lode-starre of my happie choyse,
In thee alone I doe reioyce:
 O happie man whose hap is such,
 To be made happie by thy tutch:
 Thy worth and worthynes could moue,
 The stoutest to incline to loue,
Enflam'd with fier.

² Printed beguile.

³ Printed Turtles.

POSIE V.

[E. 2 verso]

The dittie to Sospiros.

The wound of hart doth cause my sighes to spring
 And sighes doe oft report my hartie sore,
 This sore of heart doth woefull tidings bring,
 That loue is lacke and I doe griue therefore:

O sighes why doe you rise and take no rest,
 O heart why art thou thus with them possest.

My heart in selfe it selfe would pine away,
 if that sometimes sighes musicke I shoulde misse,
 This bitter ioy and pleasant paine must staie,
 The greatest griefe is now my greatest blisse:

The night I grone the day I teare my heart,
 I loue these sighes I triumph in their smart.

When minde and thought are clogged with their cares,
 And that my heart is readie for to breake,
 Then eu'rie sigh doth question how it fares,
 And heart to them replies that it is weake.

¹ [Th]er after sighes the heart is some-what glad,
 [Th]us without sower the sweete is neuer had.

My wish and will for succour doe aspire, [E. 3 recto]
 Vnto the seate of my endeered trust,
 But want and woe ensuing my desire,
 My heart doth quaile and after sigh it must:

Yet wish I must and well I may delight,
 Though sighe for wants and woes doe me affright.

These sighes Ile entertaine ² though they me noy,

¹ Corner of page torn.

² Printed entertertaine.

For they doe like the cause from where they rise,
 They bring in port newes of my mynded ioy,
 And as they passe they message me no lies:
 And yet they leaue behinde them such a want,
 That minde and ioy I finde to be but scant,

O will you neuer cease me sighes to grieve,
 And maye not hope keepe you in calme repose,
 Let me some respite haue, hart to relieue,
 Lest that your selues and you fullie lose:
 Sighes doe aspire till they obtaine their will,
 Sighes will not cease they seeke my heart to kill.

POSIE 6

[E. 3 verso]

The patrones Dilemma

Of stately stones the **D**iamond is kinge,
 Whose splendor doth dazell the gazing eye,
 The **O**nix gloze, is tyed to honors winge,
 Whose vertu's gouern'd by th'imperiall skie:
 These graces all in thee combin'd remaine,
 For glorie thine their glories still doth staine.

Shall I not speake of **R**ubies glorious blaze,
 That I blazeth still, like blazing star that shoes,
 Or cease to write how men at th'**O**pale gaze,
 Whose beautie shines like perles of dewe on rose:
 These vertues all (compar'd with thine) are base,
 For nature gaue thee excellent of grace.

The **T**opas chast thou doest in kind excell,
 The **H**yacinth that strangers loue procures,
 Hath not such force, nor can not worke so well,

As honors beautie still in thee alures;
Yris shews not more coulors in her kind,
 Then vertues be with in thy noble mind.

The windie **H**istmos shews, and bright aspects, [E. 4 recto]
 Comes far behind this faire **A**nragos worth,
 The **L**upinar hath not more chast affects.
 Then glorie of th'vnspotted minde brings foorth.
 My paines encrease thy graces to repeate,
 For cold despaire driues out of hope the heate.

Yf **S**äunus fort which doth expell deceate,
 Or **A**gathes which happie bouldnes yeild's,
 And eke **L**uperius whose vertues greate,
 Doth glad the minde: all which are found in feilds:
 Yf these I had to comfort my despaire,
 Hope yet might hope to win & weare thy faire.

POSIE. VII.

[E. 4 verso]

The Palmers Dittie vppon his Almes.

Favre Dole the flower of beawties glorious shine,
 Whose sweete sweet grace true guerdon doth deserue,
 My Orisons I offer to thy shrine,
 That beauties name in glories state preserue:
 My hap (ô haplesse hap) that gaue th'applause,
 Thy beautie view'd when trembling hart did pause.

Were I a King, I would resigne my Crowne,
 To gaine the name of Palmers happie kinde,
 I would not craue to liue in high renowne,
 If Dole I had to satisfie my minde:
 Then I for Dole a Palmers name would craue,
 If Palmer might be sure his dole to haue.

POSIE. VIII.

The Patrones Adiew.

Yf loue deserves the fruit of loues desire,
Hope loathes my loue to liue in hope of right:
Time after triall once may quench my fire,
Oh salue the sore and cherish my delight:
Rue lawles force, which feruent zeale procures.
Obtaine a hart like to the Emerauld pure:
Dayne hope to graunt where feare dispaire allures,
In deepe distresse naught but true faith is **S**ure.

POESIE IX.

[E. 5 recto]

Fides in Fortunam.

Most sacred is the sweete where fortune swayes,
 Devine the sound of her enchaunting voice.
 Noe hope of rest, wher hope, true hope delays,
 Though ¹ I dispaire I may not change me choise:
 For hue [sic] I well, though fortune me dispise,
 To honour her, that scornes my enterprise.

To bandie lookes will ease my thrauled heart,
 With lookes, my life shalbe at her commaunde,
 Yf so much grace to faith she will impart:
 With lookes againe, to answeere my demaunde;
 And that I may still loue her to my graue,
 With purest faith, is all that I doe craue.

Let Phœbus drawe his shining beam's away,
 Let heau'ns forsake to graunt me any light,
 Let foode me faile; let hope, my hope delay;

¹ Printed Though.

Let eares not heare; let watch-full eies want sight:
 Let sense, my sense, with furies fell confound,
 Before that faith, to fortune false be found.

Thy eu'r sworne friende, and seruant to thy end,
 Hath made a vowe and promise with his soule.¹
 His fortun's right with courage to defend,
 Against proudest he, this offer dare controle:
 My match is sure if Fortune grace her swayne,
 And coulors giue her quarrell to maintaine.

Colours they are of purest Indian die, [E. 5 verso]
 For none but such doth Fortune vse to lend.
 Whose sight may moue the coward neu'r to flie,
 And all his force against his foe to bend.
 Then let sweet soule thy colours be my guide,
 And hap what maye, thy doome I will abide.

Then write thy Censure with thy prettie hand,
 I will obay the sentence of thy minde,
 And graue the same in table faire to stand;
 So that, ensuing age the same may finde:
 For monument in goulden letters wrought,
 To whet with sight the accents of my thought.

POESIE X.

[E. 6 recto]

My sorrow is ioy.

Sowre is the sweet that sorrow doth mainetaine,
 Yet sorrow's good, that yeildeth mickle ioy,
 True ioy he hath, that can from ioy refrayne.
 Which haruest's still the fruites of deepe annoy:
 Yet I enthraulde in blind CVPIDOS snare,
 With fond conceyte in sorrows ioy I faire.

¹ Printed soule.

Fortun's my ioy, which sorrow still doth yeild,
 Her frowne I count a fauour to my soule;
 Sorrow doth sway, and ioy hath lost the field,
 Yet fame in minde doth often ioy enro'le:
 But when I thinke for whom I beare this smart,
 It yeilds new ioy vnto my carefull hart.

POESIE.

XI.

[E. 6 verso]

An almon for a Parrat.

Disdainfull dames that mountaines moue in thought,
 And thinke they may Ioues thunder-bolt controule,
 Who past compare ech oue [sic] doe set at naught,
 With spuemish scorn's that nowe in rethorick roule:
 Yet scorne that will be scorn'd of proude disdaine,
 I scorne to beare the scornes of finest braine.

Gestures, nor lookes of simpring coy conceyts,
 Shall make me moue for stately ladies mocks:
 Then SIRENS cease to trap with your deceyts,
 Least that your barkes meete vnexpected rocks:
 For calmest ebbe may yeild ¹ the roughest tide,
 And change of time, may change in time your pride.

Leaue to conuerse if needes you must inuay,
 Let meaner sort feede on their meane entent,
 And soare on still, the larke is fled awaye,
 Some one in time will pay what you haue lent,
 Poore hungrie gnatts faile not on wormes to feede,
 When goshaukes misse on hoped pray to speede.

¹ Printed yeild.

POESIE. XII.

[E. 7 recto]

The authors muse vpon/ his Conceyte.

Faire, fairest, faire; if passing faire, be faire,
 Let not your deed's obscure your beauties faire.
 The Queene so faire of Fearies not more fayer,
 Which doth excell with fancies chiefest fayer,
 Fayre to the worldes faire admiring wonder,
 Fayrer then IOVES loue that kills with thunder.

Eu'n to your swayne you seeme prides passing faire,
 That naught desires but fortun's faire to reape,
 Yf fortune then will driue me to despaire,
 No change can make your sweetest faire so cheape,
 But that I must, and will liue in exile,
 Before your thoughtes with thought I will defile.

Fayre fierce to faith, when fortune bend her browes,
 Yet fortune sweete be thou reclaym'd againe:
 For vnto thee I offer all my vowes,
 That may appease the rigor of my paine:
 Yeilde wished hope after this stormie blast,
 That calm's repose may worke content at last.

POSIE. 13.

[E. 7 verso]

Fides ad fortunam.

The goulden Phebus (longing oft) is seene,
 To pricke his furious steedes to run in haste,
 To clip and coll faire Thetis louely Queene,
 In pensiuie thoughts lest he the time should waste,
 So I make speede thy selfe for to embrace,
 Being almost tyr'd in pursuite of the chase.
 For houndes vncoupled, range the forrest wide,
 The stance being prun'd, I watch the rowsted game,

And to the marke my shaftes full well I guide:
 The craftie Doo takes on then to be lame:
 But hauing past the daunger of my bowe,
 She, limping leaues, and hastes away to goe.
 Thus I being surest of my hoped sport,
 Still misse the fairest marke that eu'r was kend,
 Words doe abound of comfort to exhorte,
 But deedes are slowe sure promises to end:
 The hope then ¹ left is game to rowse anewe,
 (Till deedes supplie) and feede my selfe with view.
 Fortune hath sayde, and I beleeued that,
 Renewed hope might ease my heart neere spent:
 Despaire in sequel oft my hope doth squat;
 That doubtfull I remaine still discontent,
 Wherefore to faith if faith remaine in thee,
 With faithfull wordes let deedes in one agree.

FINIS.

SONETTO. I. [E. 8 recto]

Reade these my lines the the [sic] carrecters of care,
 Sweete Nymph these lynes reade ou'r & ou'r ² againe,
 View in this glasse (that glorie doth prepare,)
 The depth of worthes which in thee doth remaine,
 Heare I set foorth the garden of thy grace,
 With plentie stor'd of choyse and sweetest flowers,
 Where I for thee abortiue thoughtes embrace;
 When in conceyte hope lodgeth in thy bowers.
 Heare shalt thou finde the Orphans of my hope,
 Shad'wed with vaile en'n [sic] of thy rare deseart,
 Of all my thoughtes here shalt thou finde the scope,
 Which to the worlde thy honour shalt ympart.

Thus will I say when skies aduance thy name,
 Liue HELENS peere eternized thy fame.

¹Printed theu.

²Printed on'r.

SONETTO. 2.

[E. 8 verso]

Farewell my hope thy hap did thee not steede,
 And thou my hap vnhappie come to mee,
 Farewell my trust which voide wast of all meede,
 And thou heart-sore attend my miserie,
 Farewell my hold which wast to stronge to hold,
 And thou my ruine welcome to my gaine,
 Farewell my life which dead are in my mould,
 And life no life torment my hart with paine.
 Farewell my chiefe that conquerst with thy looke,
 And thraldome I appeale to riue my heart,
 Farewell my thought, thy thought she will not brooke,
 Yet thinke I will for that I feele the smart.
 Farewell my choise I lastly doe thee chuse,
 I cannot chuse another to my will:
 Farewell my comfort comfortles o muse,
 And sorrowe weake thy wrath my ioy to spill.
 Farewell long stay for winde to fill thy sayle,
 Come banishment. Adieû, loue must preuayle.

SONETTO. 3.

[F. 1 recto]

Emerald of treasure eternall spring,
Nurst by the graces day-starre shine on hie,
Ingendring perfect blisse with valens ring:
Twisting loue and liking with constancie.
Now stanchlesse hart redres & soule-sick wound,
Enwrap the same in foldes of fresh desire,
Let loûe be waking haruest hope be found,
And liuing spring to quench this flame of fier.
Vnto your excellent loue sole commaund,
Seing ês you may procure I me commend,
Into your counsels grace voutch my demaund,
Heated burning ioy sustaine in ioyfull end.
 So shall my mûse your name ay coronize,
 I will it blaze to all posterities.

SONETTO.

4.

[F. 1 verso]

Relieue my minde being ouerprest with care,
O heare my sorowes for I doe complaine,
Non may thē help saue you the cure being rare,
Ah put me not to death with lingring paine.
Lest that my death to you shall nothing gaine,
Enforced loûe dislikes which is not meete,
Equalitie of loûe doth neuer paine.
You paragon most pretious pure and sweete,
Reioyce your louers harte with loûe for loûe,
Vnlace dislike and let be far disdaine,
Both one in one and let affection mooûe:
Since that in hart affection doth remaine.
Vntie distresse to finde my blisfull sport,
Let not your hart be cruell to the meeke,
Attend my harts desire in humble sort:
Soone grant my humble hart what it doth seeke.

SONETTO.

5.

[F. 2 recto]

Retire you thoughts vnto your wonted place,
Or let your place be where your thought are prent,
Newe ioyes approching with a kindly grace:
And hope that blossoms on affections dent.
Excelling worth lyeth buried in my brest,
Loue eke concealing paine in tombe of heart,
Each ioy is grieve wherewith thou art opprest;
Yound is thy grieve but sudden old thy smart.
Rich is thy choyce desire hath twice a neede,
Eu'n so my hope would reape hope to sustaine,
Bearing in my heart the wish of heartie deede,
Sealing selfe and lore [sic] high concealed vaine.
Vnspotted trust and truth ty'd to the same,
Loue keeping awe is awefull trust shall prooue,

Amongst the stings where heart doth feele the flame,
 Such is the meaning of my fixed loue,
 Such be her hart my dolors to remooue.

SONETTO. 6.

[F. 2 verso]

Vppon the sandes where raging sea doth roare,
 With fearefull sound, I standing with desire,
 The element his billowes sendes to shoare,
 And takes away my ioy to my great ire.
 So water tho did seeke to quench my fire,
 Whose furie (I beheld) with rash rebound,
 That would surflow my life, o rage to dire,
 My hearts high rocke was rent which stood on ground:
 But high commaund retreatit she made him sound,
 Who once immite [sic] his furie did surcease,
 And way-white waües to vieû her did redound,
 Breaking at her sight her empire to complease,
 And blustering windes their forces did release,
 Least that their tûmult might her eares offend,
 And with a calmie fawne breath'd to her ease,
 Thus was my wish to port they should her send.

So waüie seas and windes once made me sad,

So waüie seas and windes haüe made me glad.

Amore é mare.

SONETTO. 7.

[F. 3 recto]

Marching in the plaine field of my conceyte,
 I might behold a tent which was at rest,
 My forces I did bend but ah deceite:
 There left I freedome last which is now least.
 For when I thought to fight with Mars for best,
 There Cupid was which brought me to distresse,
 Of foe when I thought to make a conquest,

Loue and desire in tent did me oppresse.
 These captaines twaine from tormēt may surcease,
 If they did know the lore I beare in minde,
 They may as Turtles one procure thy ease,
 O that to me of twaine one would be kinde.
 Thou tēt that holdst in night such turtle doūes,
 Reioice, embrace the twayne of world the loūes.

SONETTO. 8. [F. 3 verso]

Of all the bûddes that yeild to men delight,
 Sweete eglantine that sentest in the aire,
 Art worthie pen of gold thy praise to dight:
 Thy flowers of bloome make world both green & faire,
 To wearied sence thou comfort doth repaire,
 Thy pleasure from the eye doth neuer stray,
 To fancies hest thou art a stately chaire:
 And wounded hartes desire thou canst allay.
 More bright then sun thou stand'st in window bay,
 And to thy light the sūnne may not come neere,
 Thou lasting flower doth euerlasting stay:
 O that within thy flowers I might appeare.
 As I did passe sweete sent to hart did clime,
 O thou sweete branch the sweetnes of my time.

SONETTO. 9. [F. 4 recto]

As eye bewrayeth the secretes of my minde,
 I did regard an Eglantine most faire,
 That sprong in sight of sun that brightly shind,
 And yet no sunne her springing could empayre.
 I did reioyce to come within her aire,
 Her sweetenes to receiue within my brest:
 O that her sent in hart ay might I weare,
 With griping griefe heart should not be opprest.

Heart panting sore would cease or take some rest,
 And feare disloyall vanish would away,
 Then ouer grieve in triumph were I blest,
 To be reuiued when life went to decay,
 With shadow hide me from these hart-breake showers,
 And with thy sent refresh me in thy bowers.

SONETTO. 10.

[F. 4 verso]

The onely helpe that some distressed haue,
 To keepe the life though lingring in the paine,
 Is that a time some place will find to saue,
 The losse of heart procured by disdaine.
 Nowe place is faire yet hope I doe retaine,
 That distance neuer altereth the minde,
 The height of hills doth make the lowly plaine,
 The rising sunne in skie feares not the winde:
 And yet I see place is somewhat vnkinde,
 To offer me the lack of her sweete face,
 Which cannot solac'd be till I it find:
 To free my heart and loûe of loûes disgrace,
 O place if thou didst take her from my eye,
 Bring her in place where place may remedie.

SONETTO. 11.

[F. 5 recto]

When chirping byrds did chaunt their musickes layes,
 For to salute Dame Flora with her traine,
 And vesta cloth'd with chaung of fresh arayes,
 For to adorn Hopes happie entertayne:
 Then sweetest Briere that shylded our repose,
 Sent odours sweete, from her fresh hanging bowes,
 And Philomel oft-changed notes did close,
 Which did accorde eu'n with our hallow'd vowes.
 But then; ah then, our discontent began,

A barking Dog step'd foorth with scolding rage,
 And Musick chang'd to notes of singing Swanne,
 That March wee must with swiftest Equipage.

Loose not sweete bird thy voice, nor brier thy sēt.
 Wee'le meete againe when fortunes frownes be spent.

SONETTO. 12. [F. 5 verso]

Liue long sweet byrde, that to encrease our ioy,
 Made soleme pause, between thy chirping layes,
 When stately brier shilded our anoye,
 And sheltred vs from peeping Phebus rayes:
 Sweet Philomel recorde not our delightes,
 In Musick's sounde, but to the subtill ayre;
 Least any should participate our spites,
 Wrought by a sudden Cerberus repayre.
 The pleasing sound our spirites did reuiue,
 The sweet, sweet sent, refresh'd our yeilding sence,
 The happy touch, most to delight did striue,
 But caytiffe dog did hynder our pretence.

Then happie Byrd farewell, that eas'd my paine,
 Farewell sweet brier, till fortune smile againe.

SONETTO. 13. [F. 6 recto]

When Lordlin Tytan lodged in the west,
 And EBON darknes ou'r-swayde the light,
 LATONAS beams decreasing were suppress,
 When silent streames did murmur there delight.
 Then I entrench'd neere to a noble marke,
 With courage bould a speare I tooke in hand,
 To wyn my will fired with honours sparke,
 Or loose my life in my commaunders band.
 My speare I broke vpon my gentle foe,
 Which being perform'd the second I did charge,

But honours force would not be quailed so:
 The third I tooke my thoughts for to enlarge;
 Then call'd I was for treason armes to take,
 And wisdom would my former charge forsake.

SONETTO. 14.

[F. 6 verso]

Should feare pale feare me forgoe my minde,
 Or legions of monsters make me quaille,
 No, no, I was not borne of so base kinde,
 As dreadfull sighes would make my heart to faile.
 Yet care commaund that honors my conceyte,
 Made me forsake what my desire embrac'd,
 And loth I was that riuals should repeate:
 My armes should be by humane force vnac'd,
 Which made me yelde vnto the tymes restraynt,
 And leaue the charge of that most noble fight,
 Where kindnes more then force could make me faint,
 To shild my fame from fortunes cankered spite.

 Thus I did charge, thus I discharg'd my lance,
 And so I rest contented with my chaunce.

SONETTO. 15.

[F. 7 recto]

As fond conceyt doth moue the wauering minde,
 Of artlesse sottes that knowe not wisdoms lore,
 Inconstant still to chang with eu'rie winde,
 Whose base desires want fruites of vertues store.
 So doth the arte and knowledge of the wise,
 Stirre vp his minde in honors foorde to wade,
 With feruent zeale base changlinges to dispise,
 And their weake strength, with courage to inuade,
 Whose mind being arm'd with true loues strong defence,
 He gyrdes his loynes with bondes of constancie,

And scornes that ought should alter his pretence,
Or stayne his name, with blot of infamie.

Thus wisdomes is not giuen to manye,
And but to such for to be constant anye.

SONETTO. 16.

[F. 7 verso]

Neu'r-resting chariot of the firie god,
Embost'd with beames of his eternall light,
Waytes at her beck when she but shakes her rod
Of her commaund; who is the heau'ns delight:
AVRORAS shine doth blush to see her grace,
Nymphes gather flowers to make her chaplets fine,
Engendered grieffe my hoped fauour deface,
Loue hates to liue when longing makes it pine:
Euen so her faire makes longing deere to me,
HELEN the faire was not so faire as she.

SONETTO. 17.

[F. 8 recto]

No care so great nor thoughts so pining seeme,
Enioying hope to reape the hearts desire:
Which makes me more your beauties grace esteeme,
Opprest with heate of PAPHOS holy fier.
Appoint some place to ease my thrauled minde,
Not freed yet from thy late luring looke;
Enioye thy time and solace shalt thou finde,
Let VVLCAN toyle to forge his bayted hooke:
Eyes glorious glaunce will trayne him to the lure,
Heau'ns do repine thou shouldst his frownes endure.

SONETTO. 18.

[F. 8 verso]

Namelesse the flower that workes my discontent,
Endlesse the cares for her I doe sustaine,

Waste is the soyle which shadowes my content
Once lende a salue to cure my curelesse paine.
Ah deere, how deere I purchase my delight?
Not longe when first I view'd thy sweetest fayre.
Except thy beauty lend my darknes light,
Long shall that looke my heauie lookes ympayre;
Esteeme of him that liues to honour thee,
Hopes true repose shall then be lodg'd in mee.

SONETTO. 19.

[G. 1 recto]

No sooner I had thy beautie espied,
 Cleane washed from the dreggs of vices stayne,
 But heart to thee with constant loue was tyed;
 And thou perhappys wilt yeilde me but disdayne.
 Yf thou wilt not my loue with loue requite,
 I shall weare out in paine my dismall dayes,
 But if thy heart once harbour my delight;
 Then shall I liue thy heart to loue and praise.
 Yeilde thy consent to cure my fatall wounde,
 And let desert preuaile to gayne thy grace,
 So secret truth shall eu'r in me abounde;
 Yf we may meete in some conuenient place;
 And then be sure his name I will deface,
 That should be seene to speake in thy disgrace.

SONETTO. 20.

[G. 1 verso]

Campaspe's fayre fresh-paynted forme embrac'd,
 By the rare Father of the paynters art,
 Could yeilde small ioy except that she had grac'd,
 His liuely cunning by her good desart,
 Yet he reioyce'd her counterfeyte to kisse,
 Which she neu'r sawe though he the same profan'd.
 How infinite is then my ioyfull blisse,

That still enioy the Idea of thy hande;
 Thy gloue it is mine onely comfort left,
 Which thy sweete hande made happie with her touch,
 This is the Idole that my heart infeoft,
 With loues sweete hope which I adore to much.

That I retayne a monument for thee,
 Though without life; life it affordes to me.

SONETTO. 21. [G. 2 recto]

Sweete ladie I loue, by stelth my loue doth creepe,
 Vnto the depth of my profounde conceytes,
 Not daring when I wake I dreame a sleepe,
 Thus stealing loue by inward signes entreate:
 Though merrie gale bydes anchor vp to waye,
 And canuas store swells with a puffing blaste,
 Yet feare of storme doth make vs keepe the baye,
 For he is safe that sitts on shoare at laste:
 So loue embrac'd when others presence fear'd,
 Makes sweete proue sower whē shadowes substance seeme.
 And Mars himself when Vulcans net he tear'd:
 Doth witnes feare doth stolen loue redeeme.

When sweete repose doth calme the troubled minde,
 Feare of suspect doth leaue his sting behinde.

SONETTO. 22. [G. 2 verso]

My heart entraul'd with mine owne desire,
 Makes me to be, more then I dare to seeme,
 For ielosie may kindle enuies fire,
 To hazard that which strength cannot redeeme:
 The fayrest rose, on stateliest stalke that growes,
 Drawes a delight his odours sweete to smell,
 Whose pricke sometime doth sting at later close,
 Which makes suspect the wished sent t'expell.

Loue prickes my minde to gather fayrest flowers,
 And feare forbids lest garden-keeper spie,
 Whose ielosie raines downe vntimely showres,
 And Argos-like doth loues repose discerie.

Thus doth thy fayre my secret glaunce detect,
 For ielosie doth dayly breede suspect.

SONETTO. 23.

[G. 3 recto]

When sweete repose in loues fayre bower doth rest,
 Enchamp'd with vaile of an vnfain'd desire,
 Then carefull thoughtes the fearefull mindes inuest,
 Lest ARGVS should espie the kindled fire:
 For where the dicte of such as may commaunde,
 Forbids the same, which louers must embrace,
 There feare, and care, together doe demaund;
 Account of thinges which honour may deface:
 So is their ioyes with fearefull passions mixt,
 Which doth encrease the ardencie of loue,
 On the forbidden thinges our eyes are fixt;
 Whose accents still doth loues affections moue;
 Thus stolen loue is eu'r with feare possest,
 For shadowes glymse oft feares the friendly guest.

SONETTO. 24.

[G. 3 verso]

Th'impatient rage of fretting Ielosie,
 Suspectes the windes that comes from Cupids winges,
 Whose watch preuentes the oportunitie,
 Whose louers seeke to cure his noysome stinges:
 Ech looke, a feare, infuseth to the minde,
 That gauled is with such a base conceyte,
 Which makes them proue to their hearts-joyes vnkinde.
 When loue sweete-ones, of sorrowe, sucke the teate:
 Yf one but speake to doe another right,

Suspect sayth then, of smoke there commeth fier,
 His good deserts are houlden in despite?
 And rancor doth his cruell fate conspire.
 So Ielosie still breedeth base suspect,
 Whose fruitelesse feare there owne good name detect.

SONETTO. 25.

[G. 4 recto]

If Argus, with his hundred eyes, did watch
 In vaine, when oft loue did his cunning blynde:
 Who doubteth but shee that meanes to make a match?
 For to performe both time and place can finde.
 And to abridge a woman of her will,
 Is to powre oyle in fier, to quench the flame:
 For then far more she is inclined still,
 (Though once despis'd) agayne to seeke the same.
 Loue doth commaund, and it must be obeyde;
 The sacred deitie of the god is much,
 Whose maiestie makes louers oft afrayde,
 That to his shrine with bended knee they crutch.
 This is the cause, let women beare no blame,
 Who would not play if they did like the game.

SONETTO. 26.

[G. 4 verso]

Wheare true desire, (in simparchie of minde)
 Hath ioin'd the heartes, with APHRODITES delight,
 Mere louing zeale, (to swete aspect inclin'd)
 Will finde a time in spite of fortunes might.
 ARGVS foresight, whose wake-full heedie eyes
 Seeke to preuent the wynged Gods commaunde,
 Is all to weake his charmes for to surprise;
 Gainst whose resolute his cunning could not stande:
 Yet if in Delphos sleepe laye the God,
 Authoritie gainst Hundreth eies had fayld,

But MERCVRIE, with his enchaunting rod;
 Brought all a sleepe; when Argus loue assayl'd:
 Then since such happs to watching is assign'd,
 Nothinge is harde where willing is the minde.

SONETTO. 27.

[G. 5 recto]

Daungers altered delays in loue.

The heart inthraul'd with loutes attractiue force,
 (Whose hope doth march with honours equipage,
 When reason doth his true desertes remorse)
 Must take his time his sorrowes to assuage:
 For cheeries ripe will not so long endure,
 But will in time, fade, wither, and decay,
 That which this day, could finest wittes allure;
 To-morrowe, CORIDON doth cast away,
 The Iron being hot who list not for to strike,
 Shall sure, being colde, neu'r forge it to his minde,
 And all those partes, moueth loue to like;
 Doe oft (in time) make loue to proue vnkinde.
 Eu'n so in time daunger attends delaye,
 For time and tide for no mans pleasures staye.

SONETTO. 28.

[G. 5 verso]

Was Io watch'd by Argus in the downes?
 What did not then the winged god inchaunt,
 The heardmans eyes, obeying Iunos frownes:
 What needes loutes crosse so much to make her vaunt,
 The brazen tower could not his valour quaile,
 Who scorn'd that Danae should liue a maide:
 Loutes inward force gainst enuy will preuaile,
 And hap what may: his lawes must be obeyd.
 What though fayre starre thy glorie is obscur'd:

And cou'rd with a thicke and foggie cloude:
 Yet Titan when he hath the heau'ns invr'd,
 Will cleere the stormes which fatall frownes ¹ did shrowde.
 And though that fate abridgeth our delight,
 Yet time I hope will cleare this cloudie sight.

SONETTO. 29. [G. 6 recto]

The fluent streame, whose stealing course being stayed,
 Breakes out vnto a greater deluge rage,
 The force of fier with violence delayed,
 Makes all thinges weake his furie to asswage:
 Desire contrould, will agrauate desire,
 And fancie crost will fancies force-encrease,
 When louing thoughtes will motiue loue inspire,
 Ennues oppose can not their bondes release:
 Thus currents small doe proue the greatest streames,
 Small cinders doe encrease, to raging flame,
 The hardest hartes are pearc'd with beauties beames,
 I hide my grieve yet loue discours the same:
 Sweete beautie is the sparke of my desire,
 And sparkes in time may breede a flaming fier.

SONETTO. 30. [G. 6 verso]

Sweete beautie in thy face doth still appeere,
 Myne onely ioye and best beloued deere:
 Myne onely deere and best belou'd content,
 Reuiue my heart and dyinge spirrits spent:
 The onely agent of my thoughtes delight,
 Embrace my loue and doe not me despight,
 Secure my feares and solace cares content,
 With hopes repast to fauour mine entent:

¹ Printed frowues.

The fier will out if fuell doe but want,
 And loue in time will die if it be scant:
 Let then desire yeilde fuell to your minde,
 That loue be not blowen out with euerie winde:
 So shall my heart like Etnas lasting flame,
 Burne with your loue and ioye still in the same.

SONETTO.

31.

[G. 7 recto]

I loue, inforst by loues vnlouing charmes,
 My loue is pure, my loue is chast, and true,
 And that I loue, the greater is my harmes:
 Yf loue doth purchase hate, then loue adiew.
 Why should not loue be recompens'd with loue,
 And true desire, obtayne his due desert,
 Yf beautie stirre thee to disdayne to moue?
 When mighty stormes oppresse my troubled hart:
 Knowe then that truth, may beauties blaze dismay,
 And loyall hartes, scorne periur'd beauties pride,
 Yeilde then in time, prolonge not my delay?
 Lest others should your beauties grace deride:
 So shall your worthes eternished remaine,
 And gaine his loue which others pride disdaine.

To Paris darling.

[G. 7 verso]

Were I sheapheard as I am a woodman,
 Thy Paris would I be if not thy goodman.
 And yet might I performe to thee that dutie,
 Yf thou wilt add that fauour to thy beautie.
 Nowe that these feastes make other minions frolike,
 Why is my loue, my doue, so melancholike:
 O but I neere gesse, what the cause should be,
 Which to tell, tel-tale paper, were but follie;
 Ile therefore for this time conceale it wholye:
 For that must counsell betwixt thee and mee,
 Twixt thee and mee where none may heere nor see.

Buen matina.

Sweete at this mourne I chaunced,
 To peepe into the chamber; loe I glaunced:
 And sawe white sheetes, thy whyter skinne disclosing;
 And soft-sweete cheeke on pyllowe soft reposing;
 Then sayde were I that pillowe,
 Deere for thy loue I would not weare the willowe.

MADDRIGALL.

[G. 8 recto]

Madame, that nowe I kisse your white handes later
 Then wild my louing dutie,
 Retayner to thy beautie:
 The water crost my wishe, to crosse the water.
 Yet thinke not (sweete) those gallants helde thee deerer,
 Who for thy beauties, then the sunneshine cleerer:
 Eu'n seas vneu'n haue coasted,
 But thou art wise and know'st it:
 No; thy Leander, whose hartes firie matter,
 Cannot be quench'd, by the deuyding water,
 Will with his oare-like armes quite sheare a sunder
 The waues that floate him vnder:
 Yf when I shall so trie mee,
 In thy sweete circled armes I may respire mee.

ROUNDE-DELAY.

[G. 8 verso]

Couldst thou none other spite me,
 When but once fortune friendly did indite me:
 Thy selfe thou should'st absent mee?
 And all vnkinde, vnkinde, to more torment me.
 I haue not thus deserued,

To be with tell-tale Tantalus hunger-starued:
 That hauing store of dishes,
 I could not feede according to my wishes?
 But this he for reuealinge,
 Gods counsell bide: and I for yours concealing:
 In this yet do we varie,
 That desert to his, is quite contrary?
 Then ô most kinde and cruell,
 (Except thou minde to starue thy beauties fuell)
 For all my loue, fayth, dutye,
 Let me but pray, I pray thee on thy beautie:
 And thou my new-borne dittie,
 Desire her for my second dishe but pittie.

MADDRIGALL.

[H. 1 recto]

Loue, iust loue, not luste, thus constant liue I:
 My lyfes deere loue mislikes me,
 Yet her sweete fayre doth like me:
 Yf loue dislikes; to like and loue why should I?
 Yf she be coy, why should her loue be trustie?
 Yf she be slowe; why should I be so hastie?
 Yet loyall hart hath vow'd it,
 And constant truth performes it:
 Fayre; to thy beauties fayre, firme haue I vowed,
 Sound is the seede that my resolute hath sowed.
 But weede is the fruite that my fate hath mowed
 Yet luste I banish, louing
 True zeale, I liue, yet still dying:
 Thus still to be constant eu're haue I plowed.¹

¹ Printed plodded.

ROUNDE-DELAY.

[H. 1 verso]

Much grieve did still torment me,
 In this regard thou doest thy selfe absent me;
 Thy beauty (ah) delightes ¹ me?
 And this thou know'st to well and therefore spites me.
 So womens mindes doe varie,
 And change of ayre doth worke quite contrarie;
 Proove tried my truth and trust too,
 Still to be thine, most constant, firme and iust too:
 Therefore shouldest regard me,
 And loue for loue (fayre loue) thou should'st award me,
 For since I still attend thee,
 Howe canst thou choose vnkinde (vnkinde) but friend me,
 Fayne I alone would finde thee,
 That my hearts grieve (swete hart) might thē vnbinde thee:
 For were I with thee resident,
 I doubt not I, to be of thy heart president;
 Yelde then to loue (loue kinde is)
 Else would I had byn blinde, eu'n as loue blinde is.

Sinetes Dumpe.

[H. 2 recto]

Ye angrie starrs, doe you enuie my estate.

Immediately following this poem are the verses on Sir John Salusbury's motto, "Posse & nolle nobile," by "Hugh Gryflyth Gent." (Reprinted by Grosart, in his Introduction, p. xvi; the same lines occur also in the Christ Church ms., fol. 83^b).

Then comes a separate Title-page:

¹ Printed delihgtes.

The
 Lamentation of
 a Male-content v
 pon this Enigma
 Maister thy desiers or
 liue in Despaire
 Ouid
 Hoc si crimen eris cri
 men amoris eris
 Yf this a fault bee
 found in me,
 Blame loue
 that wrought
 the misterie.

The Dedicatory Preface runs as follows:

To the Honorable minded
 vnknowne, the Name-lesse
 wisheth perfect health and
 perpetuall happines

Deare Patronesse of my haplesse lamentations; guided by the sterne of thy beauty, which hath the ful commaund of my hart, and wearied with tiranyzing ouer myselfe, in forcible suppressing the agonies of my afflicted minde, by smothering the feruencie of my desires, in the cloudie center of dimme silence: at the last with the raging violence of a stopped streame, for want of course in the intelligible parte of my minde; I am driuen to ouer flowe the bankes of reason, and in despite of my selfe to yeilde vp the raynes to vncontrouled desire; which insuing Poem will fullie manyfest vnto you, with the obseruation of my concealed fancies: Written vppon a dreame, wherein me thought I heard a voyce from a Cloude pronouncing these wordes ensuing. *Maister thy desires or liue in despaire*, and albeit I helde dreames but phantasies, which commonly doe fall out by contraries; my fortunes being so far inferior to my

thoughts, maketh me to doubt the sequell thereof. Yet noble
beautie of this sea-bound Region disdayne not to reade ende,
and pittie if you will vouchsafe to mitygate the heauines of
my martyred heart, which neere stifled with the dampe of
my discontentments lamentably beggeth for comfort at your
handes.

Yours euer true, secret and faithfull
Namelesse.

APPENDIX

A COMPLAINT ADDRESSED TO QUEEN ELIZABETH BY SIR JOHN SALUSBURY, KNT., DATED IN THE 44TH YEAR OF HER REIGN.

[Star Chamber Proceedings, Public Record Office, Eliz. S⁵¹/₁₄.]

After reciting in detail the preliminary plots of his adversaries to thwart his election to Parliament as Knight of the shire, which began as soon as the writs for the election were issued, the complainant proceeds:—

The said Sr Richard & his complices yet perceiving the number of the freeholders that had promised their voice with *your* said subiect [i. e. Sir John Salusbury] to exceed theirs, they the said Sr Richard Trevor, Sr John lloyd, Thomas Price¹ & Thomas Trafford² esquiers, all of them then & yet Justices of the peace within *your* said County together with the said high sherif and John Salusbury Capteine, wherof one being of *your* Counsell in the Marches of Wales, videlicet Sr Richard Trevor and they together with Sr John lloyd & the said high sherif, then & yet in the Commission of Oyer & Terminer within the counties of Denbigh, flint, & Mountgumery, did resolute That since they could not cary the said Eleccion by voyces They would wyn it with blades, and terrefy & daunt any that durst stand in opposicion with them for the same And for that end they not onely themselves assembled & gathered together by colour of their said auctorityes & especially their said Commission of Oyer & Terminer not out of that County alone but out of diuers other counties neare adioyning seuerall Troopes of wilfull & disordered persones most of them no freeholders, either within *your* said Countie or elsewhere but vagarant & ydle persones meet to committ any villanie whatsoever which they respected not, so as they had armes & weapons & were resolute fellowes, As

¹ Sheriff of Co. of Denbigh in 1599; cf. *Hist. MSS. Com.*, Report on Welsh MSS., I. 799.

² Thomas Trafford of Treffordd in Esclusham Esq.—See *Archaeolog. Cambr.*, Suppl., *Orig. Doc.* I. p. cccxxiv, note 2.

namely Sr Richard Trevor assembled Together out of the counties of Denbigh, flint, Salop & Chester, to the number of two hundred persones, or thereabouts. Sr John lloyd gathered out of the Counties of Denbigh & flint one hundred persones. Thomas Price to the number of forty persones who marched in seuerall troopes twenty myles through the countie or therabouts all armed & weaponed with pykes forest bills & other like vnlawfull weapons to the great terror of the Inhabitanter of your said County. Thomas Trafford brought out of his Coale pitte & other places about four score persones. John Salusbury Captein provided against the same tyme out of the Counties of Cayernarvon, Merioneth & Denbigh, to the number of fiftie persones. And the said high sheriff who notwithstanding (by reason of his office) might commaund in any lawful accion the whole power of the said County of Denbigh yet he gathered together out of the county of Mountgomery & elsewhere to the number of one hundred persones or therabouts. All which persones well furnished with all maner of weapones were appointed to be at Wrexham on the one & twentieth day of October last past being the intended day of the said Eleccion. And the said Sr Richard Trevor, Sir John lloyd, Thomas Price, Thomas Trafford together with the said high sheriffe did not onely themselves vnlawfully assemble together the persones aforesaid. But did also animate, encourage & perswaide Owin Brereton,³ Edred Price, esquiers, floulke lloyd,⁴ John Eaton, Peirce Wynne, Andrew Meredith, Andrew Ellis, Humfrey Ellis, John Wynn . . . John Goulborne, George Puleston, Richard Puleston, John Owin & others whose names are as yet vnknowne (assuring them, That they might lawfully so doe being required by them having auctority so to doe by vertue of their Commission of Oyer & Terminer. And that your said subiect could not do it without incurring great & eminent danger, by reason that he was not in the said Commission) To procure & labour so many of their freindes as they could to come to the said towne of Wrexham against the said xxjth day of October with such weapons as they could gett. And least they should be vnprovidid of Arms & weapons The said Sr Richard Trevor & his said complices caused all the weapons they had to be brought thither against that day. And further the said Sr Richard procured out of the citty of Chester, two wayneloades of Pykes & other weapons to be caryed thither against that day, And fearing least some of them should be destitute notwithstanding the said prouision he called the trayned soldiours of the said hundred of Bromefield

³ Brereton, it is surprising to note, was Sir John Salusbury's brother-in-law; see above, p. x, note 3.

⁴ Sheriff of Co. of Denbigh in 1592; cf. *Hist. MSS. Com.*, Report on Welsh MSS., I. 799.

together and caused them together with others that came to the muster aforesaid to leave their Armour & weapons behinde them in wrexham which were left in the custody of John Owin of the same towne & others the freindes of the said Sr Richard to furnish such as should be destitute of weapons Which said prouision of men & weapons being so made ready to thende to compell the voices of the freeholders by the terror of so many persones armed & weaponed, as also to deprive your said subject of his lief, being the greatest obstacle of their hard courses within yt county. They the said Sr Richard Trevor, Sr John lloyd, Thomas Price Thomas Trafford, John Salusbury Captein with the said high sheriffe who had for his parte likewise laboured diuerse freeholders to be there in like manner came to the said towne of wrexham against the tyme appointed, having their seuerall troopes their readie and the rest of their confederates accordingly, with such Complices & weapons as they could likewise make ready And amongst others the said John Eaton & Peirs Wynn being gentlemen out of the county of flint, brought thither against the same day fortie persones or therabouts as namely [the names follow] all armed & weaponed with swordes & daggers longe pyked staves, & such like weapons, and theis & others by the direction of the said Sr Richard Trevor & his Complices, being in the said towne of Wrexham vpon the aforesaid day of the said intended Election, ready to execute & performe such thinges as by him & his said Complices they were required to doe your said subiect with seaven other Justices of the peace of your highnes said county of Denbigh being likewise then & there assembled about the said [four or five words illegible] your Maiesties and seeing many troopes of armed persones flocking vp & downe the streetes there did after one proclamacion then & there made, cause anothir proclamacion to be openly made about eight of the clock of the same day commaunding all persones then & there assembled in your Maiesties name to keep the peace, & laye away their weapons and such as had no voices in the Election to departe presently Which said seuerall proclamacions so made in your Maiesties name The said Sr Richard Trevor with his Complices & adherentes in very vnlawfull troopes assembled brought thither as aforesaid continued still in the presence & view of the aforesaid high sheriffe as he sate at the said county cort without any his Controlement of them or gaynsaying albeyt he was oftentimes desired to dissolue them which argued great partiallity in him the said high sheriffe. By reason wherof the said Sr Richard Trevor having so good oportunity did place in the said church yard of the towne of Wrexham aforesaid, about three hundred persones with pykes gleaves forest Bills welsh hookes longe pyked staves & such like weapons, presuming that your said subiect (being at th'entreatie of his freindes content to forbear his coming to the place where the County was

then kept) would come thither to walke in the Church as all gentlemen at such meetinges usually doe. And your said subiect comming thither accordingly in very peaceable maner accompanied onely with two aged gentlemen & about six other persones, intending to haue gone to walke in the church then & there to haue commoured with his said freindes did as he was in going toward the church meet the said Sr Richard Trevor comming forth of the churchyard accompanied with the said Thomas Trafford John Goulborne Richard Puleston John Wynn Owin, David Trevor, Humfrey Clough, Thomas lloid & diuerse others, to the Number of twenty persones or therabouts, The said Sr Richard Trevor being armed with a privie Coate & sword & targett, Thomas Trafford with his sworde & sheild, John Goulborne with a sword & targett, Richard Puleston with the like, John Wynn Owin with sworde targett & pistoll, David Trevor with sword gauntlett & pistoll charged, and all the Rest of the said Company with swordes, targettes, bucklers, pistolls & other like weapons and so armed & arrayed they passed by quietly for yt tyme & went towardes ye place where ye County cort was kept. And when they were neare thervnto they made a stand & whispered together and on a sodune retourned hastely towardes ye church againe armed & arrayed as aforesaid where your said subiect being & intending to haue gone into the church with his aforesaid small Company & freindes found the dores thereof fast locked against him with new lockes at & by the appointment & direction of the said Sr Richard Trevor as your said subiect was then & there credibly informed: Whervpon and for that your said subiect did very well knowe that within in the said Church was remayning at the self same tyme all the store of powder of & for ye whole cunty. And neyther knowing & lesse suspecting any parte^s malice or plott to be laid for th'endangering of his lief did neuerthelesse resort thither with his said small Company. But fynding the said church dores so locked which ever before were wont at such tymes And occasions^s . . etinge to be kept open And also espying within the said churchyarde the Troope of armed men there placed by the said Sr Richard Trevor as aforesaid And also that the streetes were full of armed persones likewise and doubting what might ensue therof, resolved to giue peaceably back againe vnto his chamber or Lodging with his said small company (consisting of not aboue eight persones besides himself). Howbeit in his said Retourne he mett againe in the Churchyarde the said Sr Richard Trevor^s Trafford, John Goulborne, Richard Puleston, John Wynn Owin, David Trevor & the Residue of their Company to the number of twenty or therabouts as aforesaid All armed & arrayed as afore is shewed Who all at once most desperately

^s Ms. illegible at this point.

drewe and bent their wea[pons] vpon your said Subiect. Whervpon he willed them in your maiesties name to keep your highnes Peace and praying god to preserve your Maiestie aduized them the said Riotters to remember the place they were in and the presente Service then & there to be done for your Ma[iestie] And therewithall according to his Duety reuerently put of his hatt, and still wishing them to keep the Peace said theis wordes God saue the Queene. But before he your said subiect could put on his hatt againe & drawe his sworde to defend himself from them they had persued & driven him vnto the Church wall and their swordes about his eares, to the great hazerd & perill of his lief. Saying & Confirming it with oathes That that should not serve your subiectes tourne. Vpon which said assault there was also a warning peece shott of by former appointment & agreement betweene them the said Sr Richard Trevor & his said partakers of purpose to drawe all their Companies & fforces together. And vpon the said warning peece so shott of The aforesaid Sr John lloyde knight armed with sword & Buckler, Capteine John Salusbury with sworde & Buckler and a horsemans peece charged, repaired presently thither with their Company, being about two hundred persones, themselves armed & arrayed as aforesaid, And all their said Company with longe pykes long staves, forest Bills gleaves & other like weapons. And comming so weaponed to the porche or entrie into the said Churchyarde, The said John Salusbury not being able to come nigh your said subiect (at whose lief they aymed) by reason of the great presse of the people asked where the villaine (meaning your said Subiect) was, swearing outrageously, That he would shoote him through. And your said subiect further informeth & sheweth vnto your royal Maiestie, That vpon the shooting of of the warning peece aforesaid There repayed to the aforesaid Riottours & their rude & vnruly Troopes aforesaid, diuerse other wilfull & desperate persones in like riottous & vnlawful manner, As namely the abouesaid Owin Brereton armed with sword & Buckler, George Puleston with the others, George Evans with the like, Henry lloyd of Daereswoode, with sworde & gauntlett, Randle lloyde with the like, John Kenricke with sworde & dagger, William Jones with sword targett & privy Coate, Peirs lloyde with the like, John Owin beinge Constable of your maiesties Peace there having deliuered weapons to many of the freindes of the said Sr Richard who there likewise in his owne persone weaponed with sworde & Buckler not with intent to keep your Maiesties Peace, But to ioyne & take parte with the Riottors aforesaid in their said vnlawfull & wicked Enterprize. So as your said subiect had much adoe to escape alieue out of the handes of the said outrageous & rebellious Companies. Neuertheless being by godes good providence deliuered out of their handes, that meant to haue murthered him, and the Tumult being somewhat appeaced,

the before named high Sheriffe who had trifled out the tyme all that morning vntill nyne of the Clocke with other petty matters both before & after the said Tumult did not so much as read *your Maiesties* said writt to him formerly directed as aforesaid. Nor had any purpose to elect *your* said subiect knight of the shire, Notwithstanding That the greater parte of the ffreeholders then & there assembled were ready to giue their voice with him. But presently dissolved the said county by nyne of the Clock without Electing either knight or Burgesse for *your* Highnes said Service in *your* said high Court of Parliament. By reason wherof *your Maiesties* said Court is defectiue of two members therof, *your* Highnes said seruice greatly abused, *Your* said most gracious writt wilfully disobeyed, *your* said subiect being *your Maiesties* sworne servaunt (as aforesaid) & *your* highnes loyall & obedient Subjectes of ye saide County of Denbigh much preiudiced & wronged. And to the full effecting of the said most wicked & vnlawfull outrageous & rebellious purpose & plott of the aforenamed Riottors, The aforenamed Thomas Trafford being a Justice of the Peace as aforesaid, did conduct the said Sr Richard Trevor vnto the Churchyard aforesaid there to take view of such armed persones as he had for his parte brought thither, And the said Sr Richard taking viewe of them and being very well pleased therewith yeelded him the said Trafford great thanks for them. All which said armed Companies staying in the towne of Wrexham aforesaid, vntill the said Sr Richard Trevor departed thence which was about foure of the clocke in the afternoone of the aforesaid one & twentieth day of October last, attended & guarded him with their weapons aforesaid out of the towne. And at the Townes end he gaue them all harty thanks for their said kyndnes and so rode his way.

In conclusion Sir John Salusbury petitions that writs be directed to Sir Richard Trevor, Sir John Lloyd, and fifty other persons who are mentioned by name, commanding them to appear in person before the Court of Star Chamber to give answer for their conduct at Wrexham as set forth in this complaint.

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THE MIDDLE ENGLISH CHARTERS OF CHRIST

A Dissertation

PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF BRYN MAWR COLLEGE IN PARTIAL
FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

MARY CAROLINE SPALDING

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PREFACE

The following study of the several texts of the Charter of Christ, substantially in its present form, was submitted to the Faculty of Bryn Mawr College in May, 1912, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. With the exception of the *Kent Charter*, which is reprinted from the text published by W. D. Macray in *Notes and Queries* (9th Series, Vol. VIII, p. 240), and of the Fairfax text of the *Short Charter*, which was printed by B. Fehr in Herrig's *Archiv* (CVI. 69-70), none of the texts presented in the following pages has hitherto been printed. For the text of the *Long Charter* in Cotton ms. Calig. A. ii, as also for the texts of the *Short Charter* in mss. Sloane 3292, Stowe 620 and Harl. 116, I have availed myself of transcripts which Professor Carleton Brown kindly placed at my disposal. In the case of the *Short Charter* in St. John's College Cambridge ms. B. 15, and *Carta Libera*, in ms. E. 24 of the same library, as well as the extract from *Carta Celestis Hereditatis* (Appendix II), I have used transcripts made for me by Alfred Rogers, Esq., of the Cambridge University Library. For the fragmentary text in the manuscript at Magdalen College, Oxford, I am indebted to the courtesy of the Librarian, Rev. H. A. Wilson, who put himself to much trouble to transcribe this text and sent me also a full description of the manuscript. For all the other texts which are printed herewith I have depended directly on rotographs of the original manuscripts.

I am glad to have this opportunity of acknowledging my great indebtedness to Professor Carleton Brown of Bryn Mawr College, who first suggested the subject of this investigation, and directed my attention to the larger part of the manuscript material. To him I am under obligations also for helpful criticism in revising the dissertation preparatory to its publication, and for reading the proof sheets.

The classification of the numerous texts of the Charter of Christ and the study of the sources of the material were undertaken under the direction of Dr. Samuel Moore, in 1911-12 of Bryn Mawr College, now of the University of Wisconsin. To his assistance and encouragement throughout the preparation of the dissertation, I am greatly indebted. He has also courteously read the proof sheets as it was passing through the press.

In conclusion I desire to express my appreciation of the kindness shown by the Rev. Father Amadée Viger, O. S. A., Master of Novices, and Doctor Tourscher, O. S. A., Librarian of the Monastery Library at Villanova, Pennsylvania, in placing the books of the Library at my disposal and in obtaining special references for me; I also wish to thank the Librarians of Harvard University, the Seminary of St. Charles Borromeo, Overbrook, Pennsylvania, for permission to use these libraries, and especially Miss Mary L. Jones, Librarian of the Bryn Mawr College Library, for repeated kindnesses.

M. C. S.

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INTRODUCTORY

The Charter of Christ belongs to a class of mediæval allegorical compositions, constituting a literary type, in which the theme is developed under the figure of a legal charter or grant. In the Charter of Christ, the allegory is explicit; essentially, this document purports to be a grant of Heaven's bliss, made to mankind by the Saviour, upon condition that man give, in return, his love to God and to his neighbor¹ (an implied reference to the two great commandments of the Law). The structure of this Charter is based, in general, upon that of its legal prototype; in some versions even the *formulae* that mark the several divisions of the mediæval legal charter occur either in Latin or in English translation. Like the legal charter, moreover, one of the texts of the Charter of Christ is written in Latin prose; most of them, however, are in English verse.

Instead of the term "Charter," ordinarily employed for the grant by Christ to mankind, one finds in three manuscripts² the title *Testamentum Christi*. For this designation, more than one explanation may be suggested. In the first place, the Charter of Christ may have come to be thought of as a dying bequest through its definite connection with the death on the Cross. Again, the term *testamentum* was not restricted in the Middle Ages to instruments for the disposal of property after death, but was often employed, as DuCange notes,³ of any kind of charter or deed of gift.⁴

¹There are also other minor requirements.

²MSS. Ash. 61, Vernon, Harl. 2382.

³*Glossarium Med. et infim. Lat.* VI. (Paris 1846) *s. v. testamentum*.

⁴In the 15th cent. the word *testament* had also another meaning. The *New English Dictionary* (*s. v. testament*) records the erroneous acceptance, *testimony, witness*, and cites Sir G. Haye, *Law Arms*

But although *testamentum* in this more general sense may have been perfectly understood in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it is an unfortunate term to-day to designate the Charter of Christ, since it tends to confuse it with the Last Will and Testament, which constitutes a wholly distinct literary type.⁵ To this latter class belong a host of Testaments, both religious and secular, among them, for example, the *Testament of Christ* in Deguileville's *Pèlerinage de la Vie Humaine*.⁶

(1456): "The pape convertit . . . by his testament." Whether or not this meaning was common in the Middle Ages, or existed earlier than the 15th cent. there does not appear to be sufficient evidence to determine. It is possible that compositions such as the *Testament of Love* may have derived their title from such an application. As to this cf. Skeat: "Professor Morley well says that 'the writer of this piece [the *Testament of Love*] uses the word *Testament* in the old Scriptural sense of a witnessing, and means by Love the Divine Love" (*Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, in *Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer* VII—supplementary vol. Oxford 1897—p. xxviii). I cannot, however, discover any evidence of an old Scriptural sense of *witnessing* for the word *testament*, nor any instance of such a meaning being applied to it in England earlier than the 15th cent. In France, the "Testament" of Jean de Meung furnishes evidence that the title was applied at least as early as the beginning of the 14th cent. to compositions having no *Will* element.

⁵ This seems to be also the opinion of Horstmann (Herrig's *Archiv* I.XXIX. 424, footnote) and of Cook (*Cynewulf's Christ*, 1900, p. 208); both suggest that *charter* is a better title than *testament* for the versions of the Charter of Christ found in mss. Vernon and Harl. 2382.

⁶ Another well known form is the *Testament of the Christian*, fifteenth century (*Rel. Antiq.* I. 260), in which the Christian leaves his body to the earth, his sins to the fiend, his goods to the world, and his soul to God. One similar to this is recorded in E. Hoskins's *Horæ Beatae Mariæ Virginis*, or *Sarum and York Primers* (London 1901) 370. For other testaments, religious and secular, see H. R. Lang, *Cancioneiro Gallego-Castelhano* (New York 1902) 174 ff. (for which reference I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. Lang), and a monograph by Dr. E. C. Perrow, *The Last Will and Testament as a Form of Literature*, which is soon to appear in the *Wisconsin Academy Series*. Dr. Perrow has kindly permitted me to see the proof-sheets of this article. Cf. also H. Thien, *Ueber die Eng. Marienklagen* (Kiel 1906) 82.

The apocryphal work, *Testamentum Domini Nostri Jesu Christi*,

The ambiguity arising from a loose application of the title is well illustrated in Professor George C. Taylor's article, *The Relation of the English Corpus Christi Play to the Middle English Religious Lyric*.⁷ Under the general term *testament*, he includes, without distinction,⁸ poems in which Christ is represented in the first person, a) as making His will, b) as granting a charter to man, c) as lamenting man's ingratitude and reproaching him for it; hence, when later he proceeds to discuss the influence of *Christ's Testament* upon the Middle English Drama, it is uncertain to which type of composition he is referring: "In the English passion play there is no more evidence that the *planctus* [*Mariae*] was the germ or starting point of the passion plays than there is for the *Christ's Testament*. . . . So far as I have been able to discover, it seems by no means certain

assigned by Mgr. Rahmani to the end of the second century, and by J. Cooper and A. J. McLean to about 350 A. D., is of a different type, being an apocryphal compilation of canons and ordinances for Church government. In the Syriac ms. it also bears the title, *First and Second Books of St. Clement*. It is doubtless called *Testament of Christ*, because it embodies such ecclesiastical regulations as Christ was supposed to have instructed the Apostles to enjoin upon the Church.

I add here a note concerning a testament, apparently not extant, entitled, *Librum de Testamento Christi in Cruce*. It is ascribed by Fabricius—*Bibl. Lat. Med. et Infimæ Aetatis* (Florence 1858) i. 18—to "Aegidius Aurifaber Vossio, aliis *Fabri*, Carmelitanus," who (according to Fabricius) died in 1506. Of the authorities cited by Fabricius, only Alegrius—*Paradisus Carmel. Decoris* (Lugd. 1639) 380—mentions *De Testamento Christi in Cruce* as the work of Aegidius—"de Aegidio Fabri [Aurifaber]"; but neither of the authorities of Alegrius appears to mention this *Testamentum*. I have no other knowledge of the work. It does not appear to be in the British Museum. Whether it is actually a testament, or whether it is a charter miscalled *testament*, cannot be decided from the above data concerning it.

⁷ *Mod. Phil.* v. 1 ff. This monograph now forms part of Prof. Taylor's dissertation.

⁸ Prof. Taylor says (*op. cit.* p. 8): "Almost as widespread as the *Christmas Carol*, and far more uniform in its type, is the *Testament of Christ*, termed variously, the *Lament of the Redeemer*, *Christ's Charter*, and *Christ's Complaint*."

that the *planctus* was dramatized any earlier than the *Testament of Christ*.”⁹ Since, however, there appears to be no example either of the Last Will and Testament or of Christ’s Charter in the Middle English drama,¹⁰ the type that Professor Taylor here has in mind is undoubtedly the *Lament*, or *Complaint*, of Christ, a motive repeatedly utilized in the Passion and Judgment plays.¹¹ The essence of this form is the Saviour’s reproach, “Man, this have I done for thee; what hast thou done for Me?”¹² It makes no bequests and

⁹ *Op. cit.* p. 9.

¹⁰ In the Digby *Burial of Christ*, however, there is an interesting reference to Christ’s Body as a parchment book, written in bloody letters:

Mawdley—

271 ‘Cum hithere, Ioseph, beholde & looke,
How many bludy letters ben wreten in pis buke,
Small margente her is.’

Ioseph—

274 ‘Ye, this parchement is stritchit owt of syse.’

¹¹ See, for example, *York Plays* (ed. L. T. Smith) *Crucifixio Christi* vv. 253-58; *Towneley Plays* (E. E. T. S.) *Crucifixion*, stanza 38; *Digby Plays* (E. E. T. S.) *Burial of Christ* vv. 277-282, Joseph’s speech, “O all the pepill that passis hereby,” etc. For a list of Complaints of Christ see Taylor, *The Relation of the Middle English Corpus Christi Play to the Middle English Religious Lyric* (Mod. Phil. v. 8, footnote). See also Cook, *Christ* 208 ff. (ed. 1900). To these I add the following: Complaints of Christ in *Bonner Beitr.* xiv. 128, 208, 210; *Rich. Rolle* i. 118-119 (in the 2nd arrow); *Leg. Aurea* (Nuremberg 1488) fol. LXVIII (2nd. col)—LXVIII^b; *Firmiani Lactantii Opera*, ed. Migne, Tom. II. cols. 283-286, a poem of doubtful authorship on the Passion; and the following in mss. for which I am indebted to Professor Brown, who has kindly permitted me to copy the references from his ms. transcripts:—Caius Coll. 174, p. 481; Camb. Univ. Ff. 5. 48, fol. 43 b; Bod. Tanner 110, fol. 238 a (also in Caius Coll. Camb. 84, p. 180).

¹² Cook (*Mod. Lang. Notes* vii. 134-137, and *Christ* p. 208) suggests *Lamentations* i. 12: *o vos omnes qui transitis per viam, attendite et videte si est dolor sicut dolor meus*, as a possible source for the *Complaints of Christ*, and adds that in the Sarum use this verse is employed as follows:—1) as Antiphon for Lauds in Saturday of the

grants no deed, and is thus distinct both from the Testament (properly so called) and from the Charter.

Accordingly, I have found it advisable, for the sake of avoiding ambiguity, to employ the title *Charter* and not *Testament* for those compositions which have the actual

Paschal vigil; 2) as Respond to the ninth lesson of the 3rd Nocturn of the same day; 3) as part of the first lesson for the 1st Nocturn of Good Friday. It appears to me that Cook is certainly right. See also *York Breviary* I. (*Surtees Soc.* LXXI. 1880) *Feria Sexta in Parasceue domini*, *Lectio* VIII. col. 393, where the same verse is used. Out of this verse, there seem to have developed a number of forms. One of the commonest has for theme the words, *In cruce sum pro te; qui peccas, desine pro me!* to which are often prefixed a few lines such as the following:

Aspice mortalis, fuit umquam passio talis?
Peccatum sperne, pro quo mea vulnera cerne
Aspice qui transis, quia tu mihi causa doloris, etc.

According to John Weever these and similar verses were often inscribed under crucifixes or pictures of Christ in old Abbey Churches; see Weever's *Ancient Funeral Monuments* (1631) 117-118, and 488; see also *Rich. Rolle* I. 434; MS. Trin. Coll. Camb. 323, no. 8; MS. Emman. Coll. Camb. 106 (14th cent.) art. 10d, fol. 36: *Tu qui esgardes ma figure | Jeo su deu tu ma facture* (address of Christ on the Cross). It occurs also in countless other places. Another development of the same theme takes the form, *Homo uide quid pro te patior*, an English version of which appears in MS. Trin. Coll. Camb. 1157, fol. 69: "O man unkynde, haue thow yn mynde my passion smert," etc. See also MS. Phillips 8336, Art. 18: *Vous ke me veez en la croiz morir E pur l'amour de vous si dure mort souffrir*. Miss F. A. Foster of Bryn Mawr College called my attention to this poem, recorded in an account of the manuscript by Paul Meyer, *Romania* XIII. 518. Again, a third type is found in Christ's reproach to His people, *York Breviary* I. *Dominica quarta Quadragesime*, *Lectio* IX, col. 334; *Popule meus, quid feci aut quid molestus fui tibi?* Richard Rolle (*Med. de Passione Domini*, Horstmann, *R. R.* I. 88) enlarges upon this theme, which has given rise to a number of Complaints, as for instance that (mentioned by Taylor) in *Das Alsfelder Passionsspiel in Das Drama des Mittelalters* III. (*Deut. Nat. Litt.* XIV. Stuttgart) 764-65, and also another in the *Frankfurter Passionsspiel* of 1493, *Das Drama des Mittelalters* II. 505-06: *O liebes folck, sage mir an: was han ich dir zu leide getan, etc.*

Charter form, or in which the Deed is the organizing element of the piece, as in the *Long Charter*.¹³

¹³ Dr. Perrow (*op. cit.*) thinks that the use of the title *testament* for the *Long Charter, Version A* (my own designation for the text contained in MSS. Vernon etc., see pp. xiv ff.) might be justified on the ground that this Charter contains: a) the autobiographical element, which he has shown to be a frequent feature of the legal testament and its imitations; b) the same subject matter as the New Testament (of the Bible), which he believes was regarded as Christ's Last Will; c) the Last Will of Jesus. On the other hand, it may be replied, first that neither autobiography nor the subject matter of the New Testament is peculiar to the type known as the *Last Will and Testament*, since these features often appear in various other types of composition, such as the *Complaint* and the Passion poems; and secondly, that the Will of Christ occupies but eight lines out of 234 in the shortest version of the *Long Charter*, the organizing element being the Deed itself, which forms the centre of unity in the poem. It seems to me, therefore, that *testament* as a title for this version of the Charter, as well as for those consisting merely of the Deed, is misleading.

I

CLASSIFICATION OF MATERIAL

§ 1. EXTANT CHARTERS OF CHRIST

There are five distinct compositions extant which belong to the literary type known as the "Charter of Christ." These are:

I. A Latin prose charter, of about twenty-one lines, entitled *Carta Domini Nostri Iesu Christi*, in a vellum manuscript of the fifteenth century, Brit. Mus. Add. 21253, which belonged in 1633 to John Edwards of Stansti, and is chiefly made up of Latin homilies for Sundays throughout the year.¹ The Charter (f. 186^a-186^b) manifestly forms part of a homiletical discourse. The document itself is followed by the application, presented in the form of a curious analogy: as in civil law, a son may not receive the inheritance of a father who has been slain by an enemy, unless he pursue and avenge his father's death upon the slayer; so man, a sinner, may not receive the heavenly inheritance granted by Christ's Charter, unless he pursue and destroy sin, the slayer of our Father Christ. This text, which, so far as I am aware, has never before been printed, will be found in Appendix II.

II. A Latin poem, of from thirty-six to thirty-eight lines, entitled, in ms. St. John's Coll. Camb. E. 24, *Carta Libera d. n. Ihesu Christi*, and in ms. D. 8 of the same college, *Carta Redempcionis humane*. Ms. E. 24 is a vellum manuscript of the fourteenth century, with twenty-six lines to

¹ See *Cat. of Add. to the MSS. in the Brit. Mus. in the Years 1854-1860* (London 1875) 347-8. Where place of publication is omitted below, London is to be understood, and titles to catalogues are occasionally otherwise simplified.

the page; the *Carta Libera* begins at fol. 22. Ms. D. 8, also vellum, is a fifteenth century manuscript with thirty-two to forty-two lines to a page, and the Charter is found at fol. 174^b. In Appendix II of the present study the text of E. 24 is printed with the variant readings of D. 8. The important relation which the *Carta Libera* bears to the *Short Charter* (IV below) will be discussed in Chapter II.

III. *Carta Dei*, in Middle English verse, consisting of forty two lines in couplets, printed by W. D. Macray in *Notes and Queries* (Ser. VIII. Vol. VIII. 240), from Bod. ms. Kent Charter 233. The date of this manuscript is 1395, though the transcript of the poem which, according to Macray, is written on the back of the Charter, is probably later. I have no means of knowing the date of its writing. It is reprinted in Appendix II.

IV. A Middle English poem of thirty-two lines, in couplets, which I shall call for convenience the *Short Charter*. It occurs, under various titles, in thirteen manuscripts which will be described in detail in Section 3. The only version of the *Short Charter* hitherto printed, so far as I am aware, is that in Brit. Mus. ms. Add. 5465 ("Fairfax ms."), which is one of the latest and worst texts (B. Fehr, in Herrig's *Archiv* CVI. 69-70). The earliest of the extant manuscripts is probably Brit. Mus. ms. Add. 37049, which was written in the first half of the fifteenth century. It is clear, however, from other evidence, that this form of the Charter originated in the fourteenth century.² For the texts of the *Short Charter*, see pp. 4 ff.

V. A Middle English poem, also in couplets, which appears under various titles in the different manuscripts, but in the present study will be designated the *Long Charter*. Three distinct versions of this poem occur:

² See p. xx.

1) Version A, normally two hundred and thirty-four lines, is represented by seven manuscripts, of which two (ms. Rawl. poet. 175 and ms. Vernon) belong to the fourteenth century, and the others to the fifteenth century. This text has already been printed from the Vernon manuscript by Horstmann³ and Dr. Furnivall.⁴ Version A is the shortest and simplest of the three. Christ addresses man directly, and after briefly reproaching him for his ingratitude, in the manner of the *Complaint of God*,⁵ He tells him of the heavenly inheritance that He has bestowed upon him. This gift was made, the Lord explains, by His birth into the world; it was confirmed in the Passion, and the Deed of it was written upon the parchment of His Body. He concludes by telling man of the Indenture left him as surety for the gift, and admonishes him to pay his rent and keep from sin. If man will faithfully do these things, he may claim his inheritance when he will. The allegory upon which the poem is based consists in representing Christ's Body as the Charter—the actual crucified Body being the original document, and the Sacramental Body being the Indenture, the copy delivered to man.

2) Version B, containing four hundred and eighteen lines in its most reliable form, occurs in six manuscripts of the fifteenth century. It includes nearly all of the text of A, and two hundred lines in addition, some of which consist of digressions, and some of explanatory and transitional passages. There are also important differences between the texts of A and B in the lines which are common to both; these will be considered in Chapter IV. The text of ms. Harl. 2382 has been printed in comparison with the

³ *Nachträge zu den Legenden*, published in Herrig's *Archiv* LXXIX. 424-32.

⁴ *Minor Poems of the Vernon MS.* Part II. (*E. E. T. S. Orig. Ser.* 117) 637-57.

⁵ *Political, Religious, and Love Poems* (*E. E. T. S. Orig. Ser.* 15. A) 191 ff. The theme is, of course, exceedingly common.

Vernon text of A, by Horstinann and Furnivall, as cited above.

3) Version C, preserved, so far as I am aware, in but one manuscript, Royal 17, C xvii., of the first half of the fifteenth century, is much longer than B, containing six hundred and eighteen lines. It includes all but fifty-seven lines of B, and has in addition two hundred and fifty-seven lines which are not found in either B or A. These consist chiefly of digressions and enlargements. Of the fifty-seven lines of the B-text which are here lacking, twenty-nine appear to have been accidentally dropped by some scribe (see below, pp. lxxxvii ff.). Differences in the readings of lines common to C and B will be discussed in Chapter IV. Version C has also been printed by Dr. Furnivall in comparison with the Vernon text.

A text of the *Charter of Christ* which may perhaps be merely another manuscript of the *Short Charter*, is described by Dr. Furnivall in the *Athenaeum* for November 11, 1876 (p. 623), as follows:

“An Early English Poem in the form of a legal deed or Grant by Christ to mankind of his love and life, reserving the rent of men’s faith and obedience; the deed being sealed with Christ’s seal on the Cross, etc., all in regular legal form.” According to Dr. Furnivall, the poem occurs at the end of a Latin sermon in a manuscript possessed by the Bedford Library at that time, and of a date later than the thirteenth (?) century. I learn further that on June 17, 1904, this manuscript was sold at Sotheby’s (Lot. 457), for £9, to Bernard Quaritch. This is the only information I have been able to obtain regarding this text. Though the grant described above (Christ’s love and life) does not correspond with that in the *Short Charter* (Heaven’s bliss), the Reservation clause appears to be the same, and the form of the Deed, the seal, etc., suggests the *Short Charter*.

§ 2. THE *Charter of Pardon*

A type of Charter distinct from the deed of gift with which the present study is concerned, yet in some respects related to it, is Christ's *Charter of Pardon*. Like the deed of gift, this purports to be a document drawn up by the Lord in behalf of man. The only example of this type which I have seen is a poem of fourteen seven-line stanzas, entitled the *Charter of Pardon* or the *Charter of Mercy*, found in the thirty-fourth chapter of the *Pylgrimage of the Sowle* (ed. Caxton, 1483), an English translation of J. Gallôpe's French prose version of the *Pèlerinage de l'Ame* of Guillaume de Deguileville. According to Dibdin's record,⁶ this translation was made in 1413. The Charter, along with other poems occurring in the *Pylgrimage*, has been assigned by Dr. Furnivall to Hocceleve. For the text and Dr. Furnivall's remarks concerning it, see the *Early English Text Society Extra Series LXXII*. pp. xxviii. ff. and xx. ff.

This poem contains the initial formula of the Royal Pardon in English translation,—“Jhesu Kyng to Mychael and all thyn assessours etc. . . . my gretying.” After thus beginning, Christ declares that at the instigation of Miserycord and the Blessed Virgin, His Mother, He will receive into His peace all those who cry “Jesu Mercy” before their death and defy their earthly lusts.⁷ He further grants them full release from hell pain, and forbids Michael to proceed against them. All, however, who remain in sin without purpose of amending, trusting only to this Charter for salvation, and all who are obstinate and desperate, are excepted

⁶ See *Typ. Antiq.* I. (1810) 152 f.

⁷ For a legal writ of *Perdonavimus*, see H. Hall, *A Formula Book of Eng. Official Hist. Documents* Pt. I. (Camb. 1908) 84. This writ, dated in the 3rd year of Edward I., contains the clause: *ad instanciam karissimæ matris nostræ, Alianoré Reginé Angliæ, perdonavimus*, etc., an interesting parallel to Christ's declaration that His Mother and Miserycord interceded with Him on behalf of sinners.

from the benefits of the Pardon. The final *formulae*—*In cuius rei testimonium* and *Teste Rege* (or *me ipso*) *apud*, etc.—are lacking.

The two documents described below are inaccessible to me. From the accounts given of them, they appear to be Pardons similar to that which Furnivall attributes to Hoccleve:

I. "A General Free Pardon or Charter of Hevyn's Blys, compiled in our old Englyssh Tong in 1400." Dibdin,⁸ from whom I obtained the reference, says it was issued by Lant's⁹ press, though he assigns no date for its appearance.

II. *The General Pardon*, described in 1853 by Charles C. Babington,¹⁰ of St. John's College, Cambridge, as follows:

"An imperfect copy of a small tract (measuring five and a half inches by three and a half inches) has recently come into my hands, of which I much desire the wanting parts. It is entitled: '*The General Pardon*, geuen longe agone, and sythe newly confyrmed, by our Almightye Father, with many large Priuileges, Grauntes, and Bulles graunted for euer, as is to be seen hereafter: Drawne out of Frenche into English. By Wyllyam Hayward.¹¹ Imprinted at London, by Wyllyam How, for Wyllyam Pickeringe.'" "There is no date," says Mr. Babington, "but it is believed to have been printed in or about 1571. It is in black letter, and is an imitation of the Roman Catholic pardons. It consists of twelve leaves.

⁸ *Typ. Antiq.* III. (London 1816) 582, footnote. Herbert, according to Dibdin, refers to White's *Cat.* of 1789 for this work.

⁹ I do not know Lant's date. He is spoken of in 1541, and "became a member of the Company in 1556." See Dibdin III. 579.

¹⁰ *Notes and Queries* 1st Series VII. 15. Mr. Babington's note is dated Jan. 1, 1853.

¹¹ This Wyllyam Hayward is doubtless the same as the author of the "*Bellum Grammaticale. A discourse . . . betwene . . . the nounne and the verbe . . .* Turned into English by W. H(ayward)." H. Bynne-man. (London 1569). See the Catalogue of Books in the Brit. Mus. under *Andreas Guarina*.

In my copy, the last seven of these are torn through their middle vertically." Mr. Babington searched for this tract without success in the British Museum, Bodleian, Cambridge University, Lambeth, and in several of the college libraries. Possibly it is a copy of No. I. above. The phrase "compiled in our old Englyssh Tong," in the description of No. I., suggests that its source may have been in a foreign language; and *The General Pardon* is definitely stated to be a translation from the French.

It is to be noted that in No. I., if we may judge from the title, the pardon and the deed of gift seem to be combined. We find the combination also in one text of the *Short Charter*—MS. Ash. 189—where seven lines referring to a pardon are annexed to the Deed.¹² No. II., though said to be drawn up in imitation of the Roman Catholic Pardons, contains "many large priuileges, Grauntes," etc.; these "Grauntes" may have included a grant of Heaven within the Pardon. Having but one text of the Pardon type accessible, it is not possible to determine the relation that it bears to the *Charter of Christ*. It seems probable, however, from such evidence as we have, that the Pardon was merely a later outgrowth of the Charter.

§ 3. MANUSCRIPTS OF THE *Short Charter*

A. Brit. Mus. ms. Sloane 3292, Art. 3, fol. 2.¹³ The title of the poem is *Magna Carta de Libertatibus Mundi*. The date of the manuscript is given as the sixteenth century by the cataloguer.¹⁴ It contains but three other articles:—

¹² See p. 15.

¹³ For my transcript of this Charter, I am indebted to Professor Brown, and for examination of the seal and legend to Dr. Helen E. Sandison.

¹⁴ *Index to the Sloane MSS. in the Brit. Mus.* (1904) 430. Here the Charter is incorrectly cited as Latin poetry instead of English. Cf. also Ayscough's Cat., issued in 1782.

(1) Medical Receipts (or Prescriptions), anonymous; (2) Paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer; and (4) Receipts for dyeing silk, making colours and inks. In regard to the date of the Charter, this manuscript furnishes some interesting information. Written in the two spaces at each side of a large roundish seal, drawn at the base of the Charter as though appended to it, and inscribed with a wounded heart marked with five drops of blood, is the following note: "Mr. Lambert a Justice of Peace in Kent ¹⁵ found this on a graue-stone in an Abby in Kent bearing date A° Dni 1400 a copie whereof was geuen to Mr. Humfry Windham of Winsecombe in the county of Somerset. Uppon the other si[de o]f the seale there was should be a P[e]l[ican] [picki]ng her bloo[d] for. . . ." If this statement is true—and I can see no reason to doubt it—the Charter belongs to the fourteenth century. The words "Uppon the other si[de o]f the seale," etc., I am inclined to interpret as meaning that a pelican (for the reading *pelican* cf. account of ms. Stowe 620 below) was actually carved upon the stone beside the seal; ¹⁶ but that the person who copied from the stone did not care to reproduce the picture upon his own Charter. The letters *R & B* [or *D*] are written in pencil above the strap of the seal.

The couplets of the Charter are arranged in groups, each containing one or two Latin rubrics. The scribe of this text,

¹⁵ This is evidently William Lambarde, author of the *Perambulations of Kent*. There is, however, no reference in the *Perambulations* to this Charter or the stone upon which it was found.

¹⁶ Though so late in date, the following may have interest, as being perhaps a survival of an ancient custom: on a stone, a flat tombstone, in the Church Yard of Leigh, between Worcester and Malvern, is the "pelican in her piety" on the top of the Cross which is sculptured in the stone. The stone bears the label "For as often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye do show the Lord's death till He come." The earliest date on the stone is 1797. This is an abstract of a note, signed by Cuthbert Bede, which occurs in *Notes and Queries* 5th Ser. ix. 261, dated Apr. 6th, 1878.

whether "Mr. Lambert" or another, has inverted the order of the two last groups, that introduced by *Hij's Testibus* coming at the end instead of the group containing the date.

B. Brit. Mus. MS. Stowe 620, fol. 11^b. Title, *Magna Carta de libertatibus mundi*. The manuscript is a folio of paper, with thirty-eight leaves, of the late sixteenth century. It contains "Kentish pedigrees, evidences, heraldic and genealogical notes taken in Churches and private houses, etc., collected in or about the years 1592-1594," together with other items chiefly relating to legal affairs. Among early documents copied in Stowe 620 are: (1) "Memoranda of the committal of [John] Foxley, Baron of the Exchequer, on a charge of improper conduct at the assizes at Winchester, 3 Edw. II. [1309-10] . . .;" and (2) "Extracts from the Collectors' accompts of an aid in Kent on the knighting of the Black Prince, 20 Edw. III. [1346]." ¹⁷ At the middle of the lower edge of the Charter is represented a pointed seal which bears the legend: *De Charta redemptionis humane Sigillum salvatoris domini nostri Iesu Xpū*. Upon the seal also is a heart with the spear-thrust and five drops of blood. To the left of the strap attaching the seal to the Charter, and after the last words of the Charter itself, occurs the following: *Cor charte appensum rosei vice cerne sigilli*; which continues on the other side, *spretā morte tui solus id egit amor*. To the left of the seal itself, and therefore not forming part of the Charter, are the words: *Matris ut hec proprio stirps est sacrata cruore Pascis item proprio Xp̄ cruore tue*; something seems to be missing to complete the sentence. At the right of the Charter are some English words: "ther under nethe in the corner is the olde pointed seale within this charter was sett downe was a pellicane a pickinge Her brest and with bloode flowinge Her yonge one in the nest

¹⁷ *Cat. of the Stowe MSS. in the Brit. Mus.* I. (1895) 482.

with the verses about her." Then under all this are the Latin verses:

*Ut pellicanus fit patris sanguine sanus
Sic nos salvati sumus omnes sanguine nati*

The words "ther under nethe in the corner is the olde pointed seale," seem to mean that in the original the seal was attached to one corner of the Charter instead of depending from the centre of the lower margin, as it is represented in the Stowe MS. It will be noted that the original contained a pelican (and here the word is plain, furnishing me with the clue for the reading in Sloane 3292) within the Charter itself, if we are to take the literal meaning of the words.

C. Brit. Mus. Add. Charter 5960. "*Charta [Jesu Christi] de libertatibus Mundi*, written in English verse, in imitation of a charter, about the year 1500."¹⁸ Upon application to Sir George Warner of the Department of Manuscripts, I was informed that Add. Ch. 5960 belongs to the end of the sixteenth century. It contains the legend: *Cor charte appensum rosei vice cerne sigilli sprete morte, tui solus id egit amor*, in common with MS. Stowe 620, and bears two lists of formal signatures. The first is headed: "Sealed & delivered in ye presence of" . . . after which follow the names of the three Marys, St. John, and the centurion Longinus. The second reads:

<i>Ita fidem facimus</i>	{	Matthew Marke Luke Iohn	}	<i>Notary Publici</i>
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Upon the strap of the seal (which does not itself appear in my rotograph) are the letters "CHS IHS," and below,

¹⁸ *List of Additions to the Department of MSS. [in the Brit. Mus.] in the Year 1841*, p. 64.

factum est cor meum tanquam cera liques Psal.
22, 13 [?].¹⁹

D. Brit. Mus. ms. Harl. 6848, Art. 36, fol. 221. The Harleian catalogue describes the manuscript as follows: "A Folio, containing Papers chiefly relating to Ecclesiastical Affairs. A great part of them bought of Mr. Baker by Mr. H. Wanley." Art. 36 is said to be "a paper in old English Verse, entitled *Magna Charta de libertatibus Mundi*. In form of Letters patent from our Saviour."²⁰ The date of the manuscript was given me as the eighteenth century by Sir George Warner. This text, written as prose, is almost exactly the same as that in Add. Ch. 5960, except for spelling, and there is good reason to believe that it is a copy of the other; see p. lxxv. It contains the same list of witnesses, etc., and the sentence beginning *cor charte*, but lacks the words on the strap of the seal: *factum est cor meum* etc. This strap is represented by two strokes down from the body of the document, and no seal is drawn at the end. The letters "CHS IHS" of Add. Charter are "CHS CHS" in Harl. 6848.

E. Brit. Mus. ms. Add. 37049, Art. 16, fol. 23^a. The manuscript contains: "The Desert of Religion and other poems and religious pieces, etc., mostly illustrated, in Northern English . . . Paper (except ff. 1, 2); ff. 1 + 96. First half of the XV. cent. The colored drawings are in the crudest style. On f. 1 is an old number 94. 10¾ in. x 8 in."²¹ The title given to the poem in the catalogue,

¹⁹ Incorrect reference. It should be either *Psal.* 21. 15 (Vulgate), or *Psal.* 22. 14 (Eng. Versions). We should expect the Vulgate numeration, since the verse is quoted in Latin. It looks as though the scribe, after copying the verse, added the reference from an English Bible.

²⁰ *Cat. of Harl. MSS.* III. (1808) 435. The title cited by the catalogue does not appear in my rotograph of this Charter.

²¹ *Cat. of Add. to the MSS. in the Brit. Mus. in the Years 1900-05* (1907) 324 ff.

which does not, however, appear in the Charter itself, is, *The Charter of Human Redemption*. It is written as prose. The Deed is represented as inscribed upon an immense sheet, held in the two hands of Christ on the Cross. The drawing of the body of Christ is very crude. He is covered with the marks of wounds, and His hands and feet are pierced with nails; He wears a curious sort of turban and a halo surrounds His head. The spear wound is also to be seen, dropping blood. Instruments of the Passion (scourges, spear, hammer, the pillar, wrapped with the cords and stained with blood, the sponge on a pole, and, of course, the Cross itself) are all to be seen, not in the Deed but upon the folio containing it. At the bottom of the sheet are representations of grinning skulls, and bones. To the middle of the lower edge of the Charter is attached a pointed seal, drawn as though fastened by thongs in the usual fashion, and in the centre of the seal is the heart with the spear thrust and the five drops of blood. The sacred monogram "IHS" appears on the seal.

F. Brit. Mus. ms. Harl. 116, Art. 2, fol. 97^b. Title, *Carta Redempcionis Humane*. "A Parchment Book, written by different Hands, in a small fol." "[The Charter] is a short Poem, feigned to be Spoken by our Savior, and composed in the Form of a Deed of Feoffment. In the Index of Contents at the Beginning of the Book, it is called *Magna Carta Salvatoris*." ²² The Catalogue gives no indication as to where the hands change. The date assigned to Article 2 by Sir George Warner is the second half of the fifteenth century. This copy of the Charter contains no seal and no Latin sentences.

G. Brit. Mus. ms. Add. 24343, Art. 2, ff. 6^b-7^a, written in single columns. The title (given at the end of the Charter)

²² *Cat. of Harl. MSS. I.* (1808) 35.

is *Carta Redempcionis humane*. The text is "in English verse, framed in imitation of a grant of land; [The manuscript is] vellum; XVth cent. Small Quarto."²³ There is no seal attached to this Charter. At the top of fol. 6^b are the letters "I H C," and at the bottom of fol. 7^a are the words: "Min harte life and dere," written in a different and more modern hand. From the rotograph in my possession, I should judge the manuscript to be much stained, and fol. 6^b gives the appearance of having had a portion of another piece erased upon it, or faded, over which the Charter was written. The lines of the Charter are inscribed between the very faint lines of the erased article. It is impossible to determine what this may have been. The only other article in the manuscript is No. 1, which the catalogue describes as follows: "*Les cink ioyes de nostre Dame*; in French verse; preceded by, and interspersed with, prayers in Latin and French."

H. Caius Coll. Camb. ms. 230, Art. 21, fol. 25^b, written in double columns. Title (given in the Colophon), *Carta Humane redempcion* the rest is cut off by the edge of the page. The manuscript is vellum, of the fifteenth century, and came "from St. Alban's Abbey, as appears by many of the verses contained in the volume. It is closely connected with Abbot John Whethamstede."²⁴ The Charter has no seal or illustrations.

I. Bod. ms. Ashmole 61, Art. 28, fol. 106, occupying but little more than one-half of one of the double columns in which the manuscript is written. The title heading the

²³ *Cat. of Add. to the MSS. in the Brit. Mus. in the Years 1854-75* II. (1877) 57.

²⁴ James's *Cat. of the MSS. in the Lib. of Gonville and Caius College* I. (Cambridge 1907) 268-76; and "Corrigenda," II. p. xv.

poem is *Testamentum domini*. The manuscript is thus described: "A very tall and narrow folio volume, consisting of 161 leaves of paper of the largest size folded down the length of the sheet. On a flyleaf at the beginning is fixed a torn leaf containing a spoiled copy of 30 lines of the first article, and part of a list of the contents of the volume, which are: A collection of Metrical Romances, Lays, and other Poems in Old English, made by one Rate, in or before the time of Henry VII."²⁵ At the end of the Charter is drawn a shield, described thus in the catalogue: "a shield charged with a cross between 4 suns, and in the centre a heart with a sun in it." The four suns and the sun within the heart seem to be intended to represent the five wounds of Christ, that in the heart being the one made by the spear. What appears in the drawing to be rays may be blood marks.

J. Brit. Mus. ms. Harl. 237, Art. 19, fol. 100-100^b: *Carta Humane Redempcionis*, written in double columns. The manuscript is described as a "*Codex Chartaceus et male-habitus* in 4to."²⁶ The date of this text (art. 19), as furnished me by Sir George Warner, is the late fifteenth century. The Charter is crowded in between art. 18, *De Ordinatione*, and art. 20, *Formula injungendi populo preces, in Ecclesia Parochiali*. The text begins with line 7, immediately following the title, *Carta humane redempcionis*, and proceeds in this order: 7, 9, 11, 13, 15, 17, 19, 21, 23, 25, 27, 29, 31, 33, 1, 2, 3, 4, [5 and 6 lacking], 8, 10, 12, 14, 16, 18, 20, 22, 24, 26, 28, 30, 32, 34. It will be evident that the mistake is due to the scribe's having copied his lines in the wrong order from a text arranged in double columns, something like this:

²⁵ W. H. Black's *Cat. of the Ashmolean and other MSS.* (Oxford 1845) cols. 106-109.

²⁶ *Cat. of Harl. MSS.* I. (1808) 73.

TOP OF A FOLIO.	
End of	1
	2
another article.	3
Carta humane redempcionis	4
7	8
9	10
11	12
13	14
15	16
17	18
19	20
21	22
23	24
25	26
27	28
29	30
31	32
33	34

The scribe of the original manuscript, having some space left to the right, began his article there; but he had first written his title at the end of the preceding piece, as was customary, before he thought of saving the blank space to the right. The scribe of Harl. 237, seeing the title just above what is in reality line 7, supposed that to be the beginning of the Charter and proceeded to copy from that point down the left column and then down the right. As he had presumably just finished a Latin prose treatise, and would not be looking for rhyme, and as the first few lines he copied of this text made sense, he continued without noticing that after line 17 he was writing nonsense. The Charter has the colophon, *quod I lang.* Whether this is the name of the supposed author or of the scribe I cannot say. The preceding article is subscribed as nearly as I can make out, *H. Goffridus de tempore ord.*

K. Brit. Mus. ms. Add. 5465 (ms. Fairfax), Art. 50, ff. 119^a-124.^a This manuscript is described in detail by B.

Fehr, in Herrig's *Archiv* cvl. 48-70, and the songs it contains, of which the Charter is one, are printed with the description, exclusive of the musical notation which accompanies them. "Robert Ffayrfax" was, according to Fehr, a celebrated musician and composer who received in 1504 the degree of Mus. D. from Cambridge, in 1511 the same degree from Oxford, and died in 1529. Fehr believes it possible that the manuscript was written by Fairfax's own hand, as we know from entries in the "State's Papers" that he increased his income by writing music books. "Soviel ist sicher," says Fehr, "dass die Handschrift Fairfax' Besitz war: sein Wappen ist auf dem Titelblatt gezeichnet, und auf S. 40 in die beiden Anfangsbuchstaben M hineingeflochten. Wie das Titelblatt weiter andeutet, gehörte das Liederbuch im Jahre 1618 dem General Fairfax, von dem es später in die Hände des Ralph Thoresby von Leeds überging;" etc.

L. Bod. ms. Ashmole 189, fol. 109, written in single column, about twenty-five lines to the page. In this manuscript, as in ms. Fairfax, the Charter figures as a song. It is the tenth in "A collection of Hymns and religious ditties" in Old English," which is the sixth article (apparently) in the second of the four manuscripts that are bound in Ash. 189. Black's account²⁷ of this second manuscript is as follows: "The second ms. consists of 40 leaves (ff. 70-109), rudely written, on lines ruled with red ink, in the XVth century. On the upper corner of the second page is a distich, written in a cypher of Arabic numerals for the vowels; which may be read thus:

'Qui scripsit certe Ricardus nominatur aperte
Quod si queratur recte Wrawall cognominatur.'

On the middle of the last page but one is the following inscription: 'Dominus Ricardus Coscumbe prior de Muchelney est possessor huius libri.' This being in the same hand-

²⁷ See his *Cat. op. cit.* col. 151.

writing as the other note (though without cypher) shows a probability that both names mean the same person. The handwriting of the book is very different." Under the entry of the Charter occurs the following note: "This is a version of what was called *Carta Christi* or *Testamentum Domini*: it is longer than the copy in No. 61, art. 28: and pretends to grant an indulgence of 26030 years and 11 days." The refrain is: "Wette ye All that bene here," the first line of the Charter.

M. St. John's Coll. Camb. ms. B. 15, fol. 53. The manuscript is described by Dr. M. R. James (*Descriptive Catal. of the MSS. in the Lib. of St. John's Coll. Camb.*, 1913) as: "Vellum and paper . . . several volumes. Cent. xv and xiv. *Ex dono Magistri gent ecclesiae Barbrooke in Essexia Rectoris.*" Under I, presumably designating the first volume of the set, is entered *Carta redemptoris*, beginning: "Weyteth now alle that ben here," etc. From the fact that no date is assigned to this volume, and that Vol. III is definitely assigned to the fourteenth century, I infer that Vol. I is written in a fifteenth century hand. Dr. James refers to this Charter as "printed by Furnivall, E. E. T. S.," but so far as I am aware neither Furnivall nor the E. E. T. S. has printed the *Short Charter*.

§ 4. MANUSCRIPTS OF THE *Long Charter*

A-Text ²⁸

F. Bod. ms. Rawl. poet. 175, Art. 7, ff. 94^b-95^b; in columns of about forty-two lines each. Mr. Madan's account

²⁸ The symbols *F*, *G*, *H*, etc., of these MSS., as well as *A*, *B*, *C*, etc., used of the MSS. of Version B and of the *Short Charter*, have no significance as regards priority or rank of the MSS., but were applied arbitrarily when the writer first began work upon them. Later, the difficulties involved in altering the symbols to an order more consistent with the results attained, made it seem unwise to change them.

of the manuscript is as follows: "in English, on parchment: written in the middle of the fourteenth century: $11\frac{1}{8}$ x 8 in., 1 + 136 leaves, in double columns. Old English religious and moral poems. . . . Owned in 1630 by 'Christopher Fauell': perhaps earlier by 'Raphe Warmoud.' The manuscript came to Rawlinson from the Thoresby collection."²⁹ The Charter has no title, but just above the first line it bears the legend, *Ihesus est amor meus*.

G. Brit. Mus. ms. Add. 11307, Art. 2, ff. 89-97, written in single columns, each containing about twenty-six or twenty-eight lines. This manuscript is described in the catalogue as a vellum octavo of the XVth century.³⁰ Sir George Warner assigns it to the first half of the century. The Charter is without title, and is accompanied by a recent transcript, which is unsigned. Four recent transcripts of other articles contained in this manuscript were made by Joseph Haslewood, but the catalogue does not say that he is the author of the transcript of the Charter.

H. Brit. Mus. ms. Harl. 2346, Art. 16, ff. 51-55, in single columns, of about twenty-eight lines each. The manuscript is a small quarto, written upon parchment, and composed chiefly of theological tracts. Article 16 is "An old English Poem upon the Love of our blessed Savior to Mankind, & his Sufferings for us: wherein, by a Prosopopoeia, he is made to be the Speaker."³¹ Sir George Warner informs me that the article was written in the first half of the fifteenth century.

I. Brit. Mus. ms. Harl. 5396, part of Art. 4, ff. 301-305^b. written in single columns, varying from twenty-two to twenty-

²⁹ *Summary Cat. of Western MSS.* III. (Oxford 1895) 321-2.

³⁰ See *List of Add. to the MSS. in the Brit. Mus. in the Year 1838* (1843) 2-3.

³¹ See *Cat. of Harl. MSS.* II. (1808) 662.

six lines in length. Under Art. 4, which the cataloguer describes as "A very curious Book on paper," is an inscription in a modern hand, running thus: "A collection of ancient Poems, with some other memorandums, dated the 34th year of K. Hen. VI. 1456."³² The same hand gives a summary of the chief contents. Sir George Warner's date for this Charter is late fifteenth century. The title heading the Charter is, *What Chryst hath done for us*. Opposite line 32 is some writing, unintelligible to me, which appears to form two or three words. Again, at the end of the Charter, on page 305^b, are two or three words illegible (at least to me), after which *Explycit* is written in a hand different from that of the poem.

J. Bod. ms. Add. C. 280 (Summary Cat. No. 29572), Art. 4a, ff. 124-5, written in double columns, with about forty lines in each. The manuscript is "on parchment: written in the first half of the fifteenth cent. in England (?): 10½ x 7½ in., 127 leaves: binding, stamped brown leather, early 17th cent. English work." The chief contents of the manuscript is the French text of the *Travels of Sir John Mandeville*. "Fols. 124-127 contain two English poems, added about the middle of the 15th cent.: (1) *Carta domini Nostri Ihesu Cristi* in 212 lines: (2) on the life of Christ, beg.: 'Alle 3e mowyn be blythe & glade,' in 358 lines."³³ The title quoted just above is given in the colophon. On fol. 127^b occurs the following mark of ownership: *Iste liber constat Johanni Heruy de Lyncolnes Inn*; and just below, *signa dede*. The catalogue notes that Hervy was admitted to Lincoln's Inn in 1509.

K. Bod. ms. 89 (Sum. Cat. no. 1886), ff. 45-49, Art. 2, in single columns of about twenty-eight lines each. The

³² See *Cat. of Harl. MSS.* III. (1808) 264-5.

³³ *Summary Cat. of Western MSS.* v. (Oxford 1905) 646.

poem is headed: *Hic incipit Carta Xpi*. On folio 49, at the bottom of the page and, I should judge, in the scribe's own hand, are the words: *Iste liber constat Domine Thome Seybrygge*. Just at the end of the Charter is the following in a different hand: *Deux pere sapite nous donn pais & plenteocus & sancte abstinence et charite bon vie & bon & fyn et vitam eternam amen*. At the top of fol. 49 a mark of ownership with the date 1431 is written in a third hand, as follows: *In bigit-siem Margarete lān miiijxxxj Harwod*. Bodley's librarian informs me that both the Charter and the only other article contained in Bod. 89 (*Speculum Christiani*, ff. 1-44, in a different hand from the Charter) were written about the year 1400.

L. Magd. Coll. Oxf. ms. St. Peter-in-the-East 18 e. This Charter is a fragment which is written on the back of a secular charter document preserved in the muniment room of Magdalen College, Oxford. The following description of the manuscript and fragment was most kindly furnished me by the Rev. H. A. Wilson, Librarian of Magdalen College, Oxford: "The parchment on which the fragment is written measures about ten inches by five. It contains on the one side a document numbered '18 e' belonging to the series of charters and deeds relating to the parish of St. Peter in the East in Oxford preserved in the muniment room of Magdalen College. The document is a record of a presentment made in the King's Court in Oxford, on the part of the Master and brethren of the Hospital of St. John Baptist, on the Monday after the Exaltation of the Cross, in the 13th year of Henry IV. (*i. e.* on Sept. 19th, 1412), for the abatement of a nuisance caused to them by the Proctors of the University having made a new window in a hall called Blakehall (Black Hall), in the parish of St. Peter in the East, opening on the land of a tenement belonging to the Master and Brethren. The fragment is written across the back of the document [in long double lines] in a small neat hand of

the 15th century, probably of a date nearly the same with that of the document. It begins about an inch from one end of the parchment and about three inches remain blank at the other end after the last line."

V. Bod. ms. Vernon, ff. 317^b-318^a,³⁴ of the latter part of the fourteenth century. The title of the Charter is *Testamentum Christi*. It has been printed twice: by Horstmann in Herrig's *Archiv*, and by Dr. Furnivall in the *Publications of the Early English Text Society*, as has been already noted.³⁵

B-Text

A. Brit. Mus. ms. Cott. Calig. A II., Art. I. (20), f. 77. The manuscript is of the fifteenth century.³⁶ Article I.³⁷ is a "collection of old English poems or lays . . . with some prose tracts intermixed," of which no. 20 is entitled *Carta Jhu Xpi*. A description of this manuscript is to be found in Dr. Edith Rickert's edition of *E mare*.³⁸ Dr. Rickert assigns the manuscript with great probability to the period between the years 1446 and 1460. Cf. also Glauning's ed. of the *Two Nightingale Poems*.³⁹

B. Camb. Univ. ms. Ff. 2. 38, Art. 25, ff. 39^b-42^b. "A folio on paper, 247 leaves, double columns of about 40 lines each, handwriting uniform and of the middle of the XVth century: wants some leaves. A collection of Early English

³⁴ I am indebted to Professor Brown for the number of the folio containing the end of this text.

³⁵ See p. xv.

³⁶ See *Cat. Cott. MSS.* (1802) 42.

³⁷ This was originally ms. Vesp. D 8. See Dr. Rickert, *E mare* (*E. T. S. Ex. Ser.* 99) p. ix.

³⁸ *E. E. T. S. Ex. Ser.* 99 pp. ix-xi.

³⁹ *E. E. T. S. Ex. Ser.* 80 pp. xi-xiii.

Pieces, chiefly metrical.”⁴⁰ The Charter is entitled, *þe Chartur of Criste*. For further information regarding the manuscript, see J. O. Halliwell, *Thornton Romances* (London 1844) pp. xxxvi.-xlv.; and McKnight, *Horn*,⁴¹ who describes it as being in the hand of a Southern scribe.

C. Camb. Univ. ms. li. 4. 9, Art. 2, ff. 42^b-47^a. A fragment of the Charter only, containing 248 lines. The title in the colophon is *feoffment Ihc*. The manuscript is “a quarto on paper, containing 197 leaves [written in single columns] with about 28 lines in each page; handwriting of the XVth century.”⁴²

D. Camb. Univ. ms. Ec. 2. 15, Art. 7, ff. 90^a-94^a. “Running title: *The Chartur*, a poem on the last sufferings of Our Blessed Lord. [The ms. is] a folio, on paper, very much mutilated, 95 leaves [written in single columns] about 35 lines in each page, handwriting of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century.”⁴³ This text is imperfect, lacking the first sixty-eight lines.

E. Camb. Univ. ms. li. 3. 26, Art. 2, ff. 235^a-237^a. Title, *Bona Carta gloriose passionis domini nostri ihū xpī*. The Catalogue describes this manuscript as “a folio, on parchment, containing 237 leaves, with 43 lines in each page. Date, the fifteenth century.”⁴⁴ But the Charter is written in double columns, with about forty-four lines in each, not forty-three lines to the page. At the bottom of folio 236^b is the following record of ownership: “Thys ys George Towkars bowke, lentt to hyme by George Harolldde surgentt, the fyrst day of August, Anno Domini 1558.”

⁴⁰ *Cat. of MSS. in Camb. Univ. Lib.* II. (Cambridge 1857) 404.

⁴¹ *E. E. T. S. Ex. Ser.* 14 A. p. lv.

⁴² *Cat. of MSS. in Camb. Univ. Lib.* III. (Camb. 1858) 448.

⁴³ *Cat. of MSS. in Camb. Univ. Lib.* II. (Cambridge, 1857) 31.

⁴⁴ *Cat. of MSS. in Camb. Univ. Lib.* III. (Cambridge 1858) 429.

X. Brit. Mus. ms. Harl. 2382, Art. 8, fol. 111^b; *Testamentum Christi*. "A paper book in 4to, wherein are contained several Theological Poems, composed by Dan, John Lydgate Monk of Bury, Geffery Chaucer, & others."⁴⁵ The Charter has been twice printed from this manuscript: in Herrig's *Archiv* LXXIX. 424-32 by Horstmann, and in the *Minor Poems of the Vernon MS.* Part II. (*E. E. T. S.* Orig. Ser. 117) by Dr. Furnivall.⁴⁶

C-Text

R. Brit. Mus. ms. Royal 17, C xvii. Art. (?), leaf 112^b-leaf 116^b, of the beginning of the XVth century. This Charter has been printed by Furnivall in *Minor Poems of the Vernon MS.* Part II. (*E. E. T. S.* Orig. Ser. 117).

⁴⁵ *Cat. of Harl. MSS.* II. (1808) 675.

⁴⁶ Through Mr. Flower, of the Department of MSS. in the British Museum, I learn that MS. Addit. 11809 (2nd half of the 15th cent.) contains, at fol. 34, an Irish prose translation of the Middle English "*Testamentum Christi*," according to the version in MS. Harl. 2382. The Irish text is a close and literal translation of the Middle English verses. It is the only instance, of which Mr. Flower is aware, of an Irish translation of a Middle English poem.

II

HISTORY AND SOURCES

§ 1. THE CHARTER AS A LITERARY TYPE

It would be natural, perhaps, to suppose that a form which lends itself so readily to imitation as the legal grant or deed of gift, would have been seized upon eagerly by mediæval writers, whose fondness for allegory would presumably have led them to see in the Charter, as in the Last Will and Testament, a convenient medium of symbolic expression.

This, however, does not appear to have been the case. Examples of the type represented by the Charter of Christ, in which the legal form is made to subserve a literary purpose, are exceedingly rare both in England and on the Continent. Indeed, I know of but one example originating in France—Rutebeuf's version of the deed granted to the devil by Theophilus;¹ even this, however, is not a true illustration of the type, since it contains no allegorical element but purports to be an actual charter drawn by Theophilus. It is noteworthy that in the Middle English versions of this legend the deed itself does not appear until the latter part of the fifteenth century.²

¹ See Achille Jubinal, *Œuvres Complètes de Rutebeuf* II. (Paris 1839) 104-105.

² See for this legend and its various versions, E. Kölbing, *Beiträge z. Vergl. Geschichte der Romantischen Poesie und Prosa des Mittelalters* (Breslau 1876) 1; and *Eng. Stud.* I. 10 ff., XXXII. 1 ff.; the last of these contains the deed, stanzas 45 ff. (ed. W. Heuser). See also Jubinal, *op. cit.* Note B, pp. 260 ff.

The Devil's Charter by Barnabe Barnes, a play acted probably for the first time in 1607, contains a Charter between the Devil and Pope Alexander VI. (ed. R. B. McKerrow, 1904, in *Materialien zur Kunde des älteren Englischen Dramas* VI.).

In considering examples of the charter type in Middle English we may also leave out of account the spurious grants of land purporting to be executed by Athelstan, Edward the Confessor, etc., since these too are not allegorical, but actual, deeds.³ Aside from the Charters of Christ I know of only two instances of the allegorical charter in Middle English: the "Charter of Favel to Falsehood," in *Piers Plowman*,⁴ and the *Charter of the Abbey of the Holy Ghost*.⁵

The "Charter of Favel to Falsehood," including the description of its witnesses, sealing, etc., occupies in the A-text but twenty-two lines. Like certain versions of the Charter of Christ, it follows fairly closely the phraseology of a legal instrument:—

Hit witen and witnessen	that woneth vppon eorthe,
That I Fauuel, feffe Fals	to that mayden Meede.

Then follows a list of their holdings, the "erldam of envye," etc., "to habben and to holden and al heore heyres aftur," on condition that they yield their souls to Satan at the year's end. After the list of witnesses, "Wrong, Pers the pardoner," etc., the deed is sealed "in the date of the deuel, be siht of sir Symoni and notaries signes." In the B- and C-texts, the Charter is introduced by the words *Sciant presentes et futuri*, etc., also found in the Charter of Christ. The C-text drops the formula "to have and to hold," and

³ These have been printed from time to time in *Notes and Queries*; see for example a grant of King Athelstan, 6th Ser. XII. 194. A correspondence concerning the age and authenticity of these documents extends through several numbers of the *N. and Q.*, references for which may be obtained from the indices.

Another rhymed Charter occurs in MS. Cott. Julius F. X., Art. 29, f. 154, beginning:

Iche Sancti Edwardi Regis
Have yeoven of my forest the keping, etc.

⁴ A-text II. 60-82; B-text II. 74-113; C-text III. 79-115.

⁵ Printed by Horstmann, *Richard Rolle* I, 338 ff.

both B- and C-texts spoil the simplicity and clearness of the A version of the deed by introducing amplifications, and by changing from the first person to the third.⁶ Aside from the parallelism in structure, the "Charter of Favel" shows no resemblance to either of the others.

In the *Charter of the Abbey of the Holy Ghost*, on the other hand, we find a closer parallel to the Charter of Christ. In the first place, the subject—God's ceding to man a "lytel precieuse place that is clepid Conscience"—is not unlike the grant of Heaven to man made by Christ in His Charter. Again, between the *Charter of the Abbey* and the *Short Charter* are certain likenesses which, though they may be due to the employment in both of the phraseology of legal instruments, yet possibly indicate some connection between them. In both, the *formulae* of the legal deed are in Latin, followed by an English translation. One or two of these appear also in the *Long Charter*, but they do not occur consistently throughout. Again, the witnesses named in the Abbey Charter—"aungel and man, heuene and erthe, sone and mone and al the sterres"—suggest the list of phenomena cited as witnesses of the Deed in the *Short Charter*. Finally, the phrase "to the chef lord of the fee" in the Abbey Charter finds a parallel in "as to the chief lord of the fee" in the *Short Charter*. We need not, however, attach much significance to this point, since the phrase is evidently a translation of a Latin formula, such as is found, for example, in a charter of the fiftieth year of Henry III: *habenda et tenenda eidem Rogero et heredibus suis de capitalibus dominis feodi illius seu nobis vel aliis imperpetuum*.⁷

Should there be any connection between the *Charter of the Abbey* and the *Short Charter*, it may fairly be assumed that the dependence was on the side of the former, even

⁶ B later introduces the first person at line 86.

⁷ Hubert Hall, *A Formula Book of English Official Historical Documents*, Part I. (Cambridge 1908) 39.

though we cannot prove the *Short Charter* to be earlier than the year 1400.⁸

§ 2. ANTIQUITY OF THE CHARTER OF CHRIST

1. The Charter of Christ probably existed in Middle English verse as early as the first quarter of the fourteenth century. The oldest extant manuscript of the *Long Charter*—Rawl. poet. 175—was written about 1350; but between the Rawlinson ms. and the archetype, as I shall undertake to show in Chapter V, no less than three manuscripts intervened, so that the archetype may reasonably be assigned to the early decades of the century.⁹ To the fourteenth century belongs also the Latin metrical *Carta Libera*, as we are as-

⁸ Horstmann (*Nachträge zu den Legenden* Herrig's *Archiv*. LXXIX. 470) thought that a close relation existed between the *Long Charter*, Versions A and B (he calls it *Testamentum Christi*) and the *Cursor Mundi* Pt. II. (*E. E. T. S.*) 978 ff. But the likeness here seems to me no greater than exists between the *Charter* and other poems on the Passion. He later (1895, *Rich. Rolle*. I. 71) suggests a Complaint in ms. Camb. Univ. Dd. 5. 64, beginning: "Vnkynde man, gif kepe til me and loke what payne I suffer for þe," as furnishing the theme for the *Long Charter* in ms. Vernon. One line in this poem, "With hungyr, thirst, hete & calde," suggests line 48 of the *Long Charter*, "In hongur and þurst, colde and wo"; but the details in the Complaint find so many parallels in other pieces that it would hardly be safe to stress such a resemblance. Cf. for the source of the theme of this poem and others similar to it, note 12, pp. xf., and compare Thien's opinion, *Ueber die Eng. Marienklagen* 82.

Förster (Herrig's *Archiv* cx. 358) suggests that the texts of the *Short Charter* in Ash. 61 and 189 may belong to the class known as "Himmelsbriefe." So far as I can see there appears to be no relation between the "Letters from Heaven" and the Charter of Christ. For these Letters, Förster refers to A. S. Napier, *Contributions to Old Eng. Lit.* I. (*An Old English Homily on the Observance of Sunday*), and R. Priebisch, *John Audelay's Poem on the Observance of Sunday*, both in the *Furnivall Miscellany* 355 ff. and 397 ff., as also to a number of other articles.

⁹ Moreover, linguistic tests show that final *e* was sounded when the A-text was composed. For detailed proof of this see Appendix I.

sured by the date of the earlier of the two manuscripts in which it is preserved. The other extant versions of the Charter of Christ contribute no evidence that would point to an earlier origin for the type. None of the manuscripts of the *Short Charter* is earlier than the fifteenth century. The fact that ms. A is copied from a gravestone bearing the date 1400, makes it clear that this version was in existence before the close of the fourteenth century, but linguistic tests, so far as they go, suggest a date late in the century.¹⁰ The *Kent Charter* is written on the back of a legal conveyance dated 1395, but we have no means of determining when the poem was added. Linguistic tests show, however, that at the time of its composition final *e* was not pronounced.¹¹ *Carta Domini* is preserved in a manuscript of the fifteenth century.¹²

§ 3. THE ORIGIN OF THE CHARTER OF CHRIST

The idea of a charter, drawn up in imitation of a legal document, according to which the Saviour grants to mankind title to the Kingdom of Heaven, may possibly have arisen merely as a variation upon the theme of Christ's Last Will

¹⁰ See pp. 92 ff. The *formulae* employed in this Charter afford but little assistance in determining the date of composition. According to H. Hall, *Formula Book of Eng. Off. Hist. Documents*, Pt. I. (Camb. 1908) 25, the formula *Habendum et tenendum* came into use during the reign of John (1199-1216), and had disappeared by 1499. *Habendum* (without the last two words) is found in one MS. of the *Short Charter* (Sloane 3292). The phrase, *In cujus rei testimonium*, which occurs in six MSS. of the *Short Charter*, was peculiar to the *Letters Patent*, a form which gradually superseded the regular Charter, but was not well established until the close of the minority of Henry III. (Henry declared his majority in 1227). See *Formula Book* 53.

¹¹ Note the rhyme words: *blod-god* (pl. adj.), 27-28; *god* (pl. adj.) -*stode* (3rd sing.), 29-30; *long* (pl. adj.) -*stong* (3rd sing.), 31-32.

¹² See p. xiii. As regards the Bedford MS. (see p. xvi) and the two texts described at pages xviii-xix, such data as we have is not sufficient to determine the time of composition in the case of any of them.

and Testament, a literary type to which reference has already been made.¹ Christ's Last Will is occasionally mentioned in mediæval works, which describe the Lord as bequeathing upon the Cross various legacies to those He was leaving on earth.² Though quite distinct in the legal form upon which it is based, the Charter resembled the Will in being the Saviour's dying gift; thus it will be noted that all the Deeds are dated on the day of the Crucifixion.

Again, a suggestion for the Charter may be found in a passage in the *Epistle to the Hebrews* (ix: 15-18):

Et ideo novi testamenti mediator est; ut morte intercedente, in redemptionem earum prævaricationum, quæ erant sub priori testamento, repromissionem accipiant qui vocati sunt æternæ hereditatis. Ubi enim testamentum est: mors necesse est intercedat testatoris. Testamentum enim in mortuis confirmatum est: alioquin nondum valet, dum vivit qui testatus est. Unde nec primum quidem sine sanguine dedicatum est.

The Greek *διαθήκη*, here rendered by *testamentum*, combines the meaning of "covenant" and "testament"³ so that the lines just quoted embody a two-fold figure: (1) the Last Will and Testament made by Christ on man's behalf; (2) the new Covenant instituted by Christ through His

¹ Exemplified by Christ's Testament in Dégueville's *Pèlerinage de la Vie Humaine*; cf. p. viii.

² See, for example, St. Ambrose, *Comment. Lib. x in Euang. Luc.* Cap. xxiii:

Sed ibi pro loco, hic & in cruce non immemor matris, appellat eam, dicens: *ecce filius tuus*. Et Ioanni: *ecce mater tua*. Testabatur de cruce Christus, & Testamentum eius signabat Ioannes; dignus tanto testatore testis. Bonum Testamentum non pecuniae; sed vitae: quod non atramento scribitur; sed Spiritu Dei vivi.

See also *Leg. Aur.* (Nuremberg 1488) *De Passione ihesu Christi* fol. lxvi^b; and Abbatus Ernaldus Bonævallis, in a discourse concerning the Seven Words of the Cross, Migne, *Pat. Lat.* CLXXXIX. Col. 1696, etc., etc.

³ See Thayer's remarks on this passage in his *Grk-Eng. Lexicon of the N. T.*

death on the Cross, whereby man receives the promise of an eternal inheritance.

The word "testamentum" was, of course, familiar to mediæval readers in the sense of "covenant" as well as of "testament." The first interpretation, applied to the passage in question, would represent Christ as the sacrificial victim slain, according to Hebrew custom, to confirm the covenant with mankind.⁴ The second interpretation would identify Christ as the testator who grants a charter to man as his dying bequest. But either interpretation may easily have served to suggest the representation of Christ's grant to mankind under the form of a legal deed or charter.

From this figure of the Redemption as a legal deed—tracing its ultimate source very possibly to these sentences in the *Epistle to the Hebrews*—the several extant versions of the Charter of Christ presumably derive. But before proceeding to define more closely the nature of the prototype, or to consider the textual relations of the various extant versions, it will be necessary to note the occurrence, in two of them, of a figure which is directly related to the question of origins.

§ 4. THE METAPHOR OF THE CRUCIFIED BODY AS THE CHARTER

In the *Long Charter* and *Kent Charter*, but in no other versions, an extended metaphor⁵ identifies the Deed with the cru-

⁴Dr. Richard G. Moulton, commenting on the passage in *Hebrews*, explains it by reference to the Hebrew animal-sacrifices, "which were the formal sign of a covenant between parties, the Stroke of Death being the irrevocable seal set on an agreement from which there can be no departing" (see the *Modern Reader's Bible*, 1907, notes on this passage). Cf. also, in this connection, notes and text of the *Bible Containing the Marginal Readings adopted by General Convention* (Thomas Nelson & Sons, New York, 1903), a reference kindly pointed out to me by my father, the Rev. Charles N. Spalding, D. D.

⁵The term allegory seems hardly applicable, as the figure is not developed through narrative but by explanation.

cified Body of Christ. In the *Long Charter* the Deed is written upon the parchment of the Lord's skin with pens which are the scourges used by the Jews. The letters are His wounds, the sealing-wax His blood, etc. The Indenture, or copy left with man, is the Sacrificial Body of the Lord in the Eucharist. The same figure is expressed also in the *Kent Charter*:

I Jhesus of Nazaren . . .
 Have grantyd, ȝovyn and confermyd is ⁶
 Thourch my Charte that the mon se
 My body that heng on the tre,
 A mes housyd fayir and fre
 It is hevene blysse I telle the . . . etc.

Other versions of the Charter, it is true, also have some features which at first sight suggest that the metaphor, though not explicit, was yet implied: in the *Carta Libera* and the *Carta Domini* the document is said to be written in the Lord's blood, while in the *Short Charter* the wound in His side is the seal. Since similar points form a part of the metaphor in the *Long Charter* and *Kent Charter*, where Christ's blood is either sealing-wax or seal, it would be natural to suppose that the occurrence of such features in the other Charters implied the same metaphor.

This supposition, however, can hardly be justified. In the first place, the expressions *proprio sanguine conscripsi, hec —sanguine scripta*, and "the wounde in my syde [or "herte"] the sele it is," of the *Carta Domini*, *Carta Libera* and the *Short Charter* respectively, may be otherwise explained. They may have reference to the shedding of blood necessary to the ratification of the covenant discussed in Section 3, the terms *conscripsi, scripta*, and "sele" being attributable to the fact that in our texts, the covenant is expressed under the figure of a written charter. Again, had

⁶ Probably an error for *pis*.

the metaphor of Christ's Body been in the minds of the several authors of these three Charters, it would indeed have been strange that they should not have expressed it definitely. The idea is appropriate and too suggestive for them to have neglected it, especially in the case of the author of the *Carta Libera*, who introduces much detail regarding the sufferings of our Lord at the Crucifixion. Moreover, in the *Carta Libera*, the words *hec mors, homo, fit tua carta* are better explicable as referring to the ratification of a covenant than as intending to suggest the metaphor in question.

Accordingly, this metaphor, in my opinion, was not present in the Charter of Christ, as it was originally conceived, but was introduced later as an adornment. It may possibly have grown out of the phrase in the *Carta Libera* already mentioned: *hec mors, homo, fit tua carta*, or from *hec . . . sanguine scripta*,⁷ or from a reference to the wound in Christ's side as a seal in some early text of the *Short Charter*, etc.⁸

On the other hand, the figure may go back to a Scriptural source. In the *Epistle to the Colossians* (II: 13-14) St. Paul speaks of a bond or writ as being nailed to the Cross:

Et vos cum mortui essetis in delictis, et præputio carnis vestræ, convivicavit cum illo, donans vobis omnia delicta: delens quod adversus nos erat chirographum decreti, quod erat contrarium nobis, et ipsum tulit de medio, *affigens illud cruci*: . . .

Though the bond here mentioned is not, of course, the same as that with which we are concerned, yet it is a legal document *nailed to the Cross* by Christ in effecting man's redemption from sin. That the Middle Ages played upon

⁷ Also in *Carta Libera*.

⁸ The fact that the *Long Charter* is an early text (see p. xxxix) and that our only text of *Carta Domini*, for example, occurs in a 15th cent. MS., does not affect the argument here; for there may have been very early texts both of *Carta Domini* and of the other versions in which the metaphor is not found.

this idea is shown in the following passages from the *Legenda Aurea*:⁹

Huiusmodi autem debitum apostolus vocat cyrographum quod quidem christus tulit & cruci affixit. De quo cyrographo dicit Augustinus. Eua peccatum a diabolo mutuavit. cyrographum scripsit. fideiussorem dedit. & vsura posteritati. creuit. Tunc enim a diabolo peccatum mutuauit. quando contra preceptum dei sue prauis iussioni vel suggestioni consensit. cyrographum scripsit. quando manum ad pomum vetitum porrexit. fideiussionem dedit. quando Adam peccatorum sentire fecit. & sic vsura peccati posteritati creuit.

The same figure is used by Ludolphus de Saxonia, in his *Vita Jesu Christi*,¹⁰ as follows:

Quia enim primus homo ad lignum preuaricationis manus extendendo & pedibus accedendo cyrographum damnationis nostre diabolo confecerat : ideo saluator noster : vt cyrographum illud deleat manibus et pedibus ligno salutifere crucis affigi voluit clavis inuictissime charitatis delens per hac cyrographum decreti quod erat contrarium nobis : et ipsum tulit de medio affigens illud cruci Jesu qui durissimis clavis cruci affigi voluisti : ac per hoc cyrographum peccatorum nostrorum & mortis eidem cruci affixisti. Confige quaeso timore tuo carnes meas etc.

From this it would be but a step to connect the *chirographum* with the Body of the Saviour and incorporate the metaphor into the Charter of Christ, a document already purporting to deed to man the inheritance of Heaven.¹¹

⁹ *De passione ihesu Christi*, ed. Nuremberg 1488, fol. lxix. col. 1.

¹⁰ *Secunda Pars* Cap. LXIII., ed. Lyons 1530, fol. ccclxiii.

¹¹ In this connection, it should be noted that in the *Short Charter* MS. A, the following six lines standing at the beginning just before the *Sciant presentes et futuri* (which is supposedly the beginning of the Charter) speak of a writ of man's debt cancelled by Christ:

Jhesus Christ his Charter Great
That bloud and water so did sweat

Though the Pauline text be recognized as furnishing the original suggestion for the figure, it was not necessarily the source upon which these Charters directly depended, for the same metaphorical representation of the Body of Christ, in both simple and elaborated forms, occurs in various treatises at least as early as the fourteenth century and very possibly even earlier. Notwithstanding variations of detail such as might be expected in the development of the Pauline figure—for example, the document is sometimes represented as a book or a bill of pardon as well as a charter—yet the parchment is always Christ's Body. Perhaps the simplest expression of the figure is to be found in the two following citations, wherein, it will be noted, no actual document is mentioned:

oure blessed fadir of heuene spared not his owen sone but
suffrede hym to be streyned on the harde cros, moore dispitously
& greuously þan euer was schepys skyn streyned on the wal or
vp-on þe parchemyn-makeris harowe aȝens þe sonne to drye.¹²

And had his heart I-wounded sore
To save mankind forever more
Christ hath cancelled the writ of man's debt
And by the great Charter him free hath set.

This allusion to a writ would have led me to include the above passage from *Colossians* among the possible sources of the Charter, discussed in the preceding section, except that it is not probable that these lines formed a part of the original text of the *Short Charter*. They do not occur in MS. E, of the early 15th cent., nor in any other MS. except that the last two are found in MS. B, of the late 16th cent. Metrically, these lines appear to be of late origin. Moreover, the metre in the last two differs from that of the *Charter* itself. So that, although MS. Sloane 3292 (MS. A) purports to contain a version copied from a gravestone in 1400, and hence probably represents a fairly early text of the *Short Charter*, yet as the MS. itself belongs to the 16th cent., these introductory lines may well have been added, or rather, prefixed, to the *Charter* when the MS. was written.

¹² *A meditacion of þe fyue woundes of Ihesu Crist*, printed by Horstmann, *Richard Rolle* II. 440, from Univ. Coll. Oxford MS. 97, of the end of the 14th century. The *Meditacion* has been wrongly attributed

And whene he [Christ] was thus sprede o-brode one þe crosse
more straite þan any parchemyne-skyne es sprede one þe harowe,
so þat mene myghte tell all þe blyssede bones of his body.¹³

With the exception of these two, all the examples I have noted speak of a document, or book. In *An ABC Poem on the Passion of Christ*, one finds in the introductory stanzas a comparison between Christ's Body on the Cross and the horn book, or ABC, from which children learned to read:¹⁴

- 1 In place as man may se,
Quan a chyld to scole xal set be,
- 3 A bok hym is browt,
Naylyd on a brede of tre,
þat men callyt an abece,
- 6 Pratylych I-wrout.

- Wrout is on þe bok *with-out*e,
.V. paraffys¹⁵ grete & stoute
- 9 Bolyd in rose red;
þat is set *with-outyn* doute,

to Richard Rolle. It also occurs in MS. Simeon (Brit. Mus. MS. Add. 22283) at fol. 61^b, which was transcribed about 1380-1400; see Horstmann, *op. cit.* 436, and the *Cat. of Add. MSS. in the Brit. Mus.*

¹³ *Bonaventura de misteriis passionis Iesu Christi*, or *The Privy of the Passion*, meditation for midday; printed by Horstmann, *Richard Rolle* I. 206, from MS. Thornton (c. 1430-40). This is an anonymous work, a "free and abridged translation" of the *Meditationes Vitæ Christi*, Cap. 74-92, formerly ascribed to Bonaventura. The Latin treatise does not contain the figure of the parchment, which is thus an addition by the author of the so-called translation.

¹⁴ MS. *Harl.* 3954, which is dated by Furnivall about 1420. The poem itself may be somewhat earlier. It has been printed in the *Relig. Antiq.*, and in *Pol. Rel. and Love Poems* (ed. Furnivall *E. E. T. S.*) 271.

¹⁵ "Paraphe: The flourish, or peculiar knot, or mark set unto, or after, or instead of, a name in the signing of a Deed, or Letter; and generally, any such graceful setting out of a man's hand, or name in writing; also a subsignature, or signing under,"—Cotgrave. Cf. also Sainte Palaye, *Dict. hist. de l'anc. langage fr.* The word also means "paragraph."

[No gap in the MS.]

12 In tokenyng of cristis ded.

Red letter in parchemyn

Makyth a chyld good & fyn

15 Lettrys to loke & se.

Be þis bok men may dyuyne

þat cristis body was ful of pyne

18 þat deyid on rodē tre.

On tre he was don ful blythe

With grete paraffys, þat be wondis .V.

21 As ȝe mou vnder-stonde.

Loke in hys body, mayde & wyfe,

Qwon hee gun naylys dryue

24 In fot & in honde.

Hond & fout þer was ful woo,

And þer were lettrys many moo

27 With-in & with-oute,

With rede wondis & strokis blo

He was dryue fro top to þe too,

30 Hys fayre body aboute.

About þis, a pece I wyl spede,

þat I myth þis lettrys rede

33 With-outyn ony dystaunce;

But god þat let hys body sprede

Vp-on þe rode for manys nede,

36 In heuene vs alle avaunce!

Another very similar example of this figure is found in the *Disputacion between Mary and the Cross*,¹⁶ in the Vernon MS. (c. 1370-80):

¹⁶ *Leg. of the Holy Rood* (ed. Morris *E. E. T. S.* Orig. Ser. 46) 137-8, and *Minor Poems of the Vernon MS.* II. (ed. Furnivall *E. E. T. S.* Orig. Ser. 117) 617-618.

*Numbers in
Morris ed.**Numbers in
Furnivall ed.*

- | | | |
|-----------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| 187 | For pardoun schewep · be a shrine,
Wip nayl · and brede · on bord is smite,
Rede lettres · write be lyne,
Bluwe · Blake · a-mong men pite :
Vr lord I · likne · to pis signe,
His bodi · vppon a bord · was bite,
In Briht blod · his bodi gan schyne ;
Hou wo him was · may no mon wite,
Red vp-on pe Roode ;
Vr pardoun brede ; from top too to,
Writen hit was · wip wonder wo,
Wip Rede woundes · and strokes blo, | 179

185

190 |
| 199 | Vre Book · was bounden in bloode. | |
| | | |
| 204 | His Bodi was Book · pe Cros was brede,
Whon crist for vs · per-on was cleynt :
No mon gat pardoun · wip no bede,
Weor he neuere · so sely a seynt,
Til book on bord · was sprad ;
Wip sharpe nayles · dunted and driue,
Til feet · and hondes · al-to riue ;
His herte blod · vre book hap ȝiue, | 196

200 |
| 212 | To make · vr gostes glad : etc. ¹⁷ | |

Finally, the metaphor in elaborated form is to be found in the *Carta Celestis Hereditatis*, one of a series of fourteenth century tracts of uncertain authorship entitled collectively *The Poor Caitiff*. The parts of this text which concern

¹⁷ Another mention of the Pardon Charter is found in Chaucer's *ABC Poem*:

He vouched sauf, tel him, as was his wille,
Bicome a man, to have our alliaunce,
And with his precious blood he wroot the bille,
Up-on the crois, as general acquitaunce,
To every penitent in ful creauce;

This allusion does not occur in his source.

Christ's grant of Heaven to man are printed in Appendix II. of the present study. An examination of the *Carta* will show that it not only contains the features of the figure which appear in the *Disputacion*, etc., but adds also the following (1) the wounds numbered 5475; (2) the pens that wrote the Charter were the nails, spear, and thorns of the crucifixion; (3) the print of the seal was the shape of our Lord upon the Cross; (4) the sentence of the Charter is our belief, and (5) the laces of the Charter are forgiveness of sin and trust in God.¹⁸

It will be observed that certain of these pieces present striking points of resemblance with the Charters. One of these consists in the identification of Christ's wounds with letters, with which compare the following lines of the *Long Charter*:

How many lettres thereon ben
 Red and þou may wite and sen
 ffif þousand foure hundred fyfti and ten
 Woundes on me boþe red and wen.

There is also an interesting parallel between the *Carta Celestis Hereditatis*, and the *Long Charter* in that both mention pens and a specific number of wounds. The pens in the *Carta* however, are nails, spear, and thorns, while those in the *Long Charter* are scourges. The number of the wounds in one is 5475 and in the other 5460; but this is not as significant as at first appears, for these numbers,

¹⁸ Two other (15th cent.) references are as follows:

- 1) His herte blod wrot oure hele,
 And Ihesus body þe parchemyn is;
 Wiþ trewe loue he prented oure sele,
 Pat is heritage of oure blis.

J. Kail, *Twenty-six Pol. and Other Poems*
 Pt. I. (*E. E. T. S.* Orig. Ser. 124) 78.

- 2) The passage from the Digby passion play, already quoted in another connection at p. x, note 10.

or others almost equally large, are also features in other mediæval descriptions of the wounded Body of Christ.¹⁹

Consequently, it is entirely possible that the *Long Charter* and *Kent Charter* may have drawn the metaphor of Christ's Body from one or more of these or similar pieces. On the other hand, the reverse might have been the case. As to this one can hardly attempt to decide; the dates of the several texts furnish no clue as they are all of the fourteenth century.

§ 5. A COMPARISON OF THE DEED OF GIFT IN THE FIVE CHARTERS

Of the five texts of the Charter of Christ, three consist of the Deed of Gift alone.¹ The other two—*Carta Domini* and the *Long Charter*—contain also additional matter enlarging upon themes suggested by the grant, although it is difficult, particularly in the case of the *Long Charter*, to decide just how much of the poem the author intended to include within the instrument itself.² Since the points of resemblance between the Charters are confined to the Deed itself, we may exclude for the present the discussion of this additional material (except such portions as may serve to explain details in the instrument proper) and may proceed to compare the several Charters with respect to the forms of the Deed contained in them.

¹⁹ See, for example, the 4600 wounds mentioned in the *Lamentatio Sancte Marie* (ed. Frölich, Leipzig 1902) 71. v. 197.

¹ The term "Deed" is used here and elsewhere to designate the instrument itself, whereas "Charter" sometimes refers to the Deed and sometimes to the piece containing it.

² As illustration, observe the occurrence of the words "*Consummatum est*, this charter is done," v. 187 (A-text), long after the Deed itself (vv. 99-134) is presumably at an end. Again, at line 155 the Jews are mentioned as witnesses of the Crowning of Christ with thorns; later on, at line 169, the formula "*Hij's Testibus* Matthew and John, Luke," etc., is introduced, but seems to refer not to the witnessing of the Deed, but to the witnessing of the offer of drink to the Lord.

At the outset one perceives that *Carta Domini*, the only Latin prose Charter, possesses marked characteristics which distinguish it from all the others. In tone it is learned and ecclesiastical,³ showing a fondness for abstract terms as contrasted with the concrete style of the rest. For example, *Carta Domini* differs from all the others in not citing as witnesses of the Deed concrete incidents of the crucifixion or the names of persons who were present—as John, the Blessed Virgin, or the Evangelists—but reads: *Sigillum que mee diuinitatis apposui cum testimonio patris et spiritus. Nam hij tres testimonia dant in celo*—an evident adaptation of 1 John v:7: *Quoniam tres sunt, qui testimonium dant in celo: Pater, Verbum, et Spiritus Sanctus.* In view of the divergent character of *Carta Domini* it hardly seems necessary to include it among the other four texts in the tabular comparison which follows, though its omission is not intended to imply that it differs from them in the essential features of the Deed.

Coming now to examine the details of the Deed as it appears in the other four texts of the Charter, we may best indicate their mutual relations by arranging in parallel columns the features which they have in common.⁴

³This Charter gives most evidence of having been written by a theologian. It will be remembered that it occurs in a book of sermons; see p. xiii.

⁴In this table brackets indicate that the matter enclosed has been transferred from the order of its occurrence in the Charter.

CARTA LIBERA	SHORT CHARTER	KENT CHARTER	LONG CHARTER
	Writ of man's debt cancelled, and man set free (only in MSS. A and B).		
1. <i>Sciant presentes at- que futuri quod</i>	<i>Sciant</i> (and <i>nou- verint</i>) Wot ye now all that	Knowyn all men ... that are & schulen ben, that	<i>Sciant presentes & futuri</i> wite ye þat are and shal be- tyde that
uir ego ihesus beth- lem . . . natus, Ieru- salem Iesus, cruci- fixus, Iudificatus	I suffered death for love of you, upon the cross, while I was man on earth alive		I (born in Bethle- hem . . .) made a seizin, when I was born, to thee, man, with my Father's will and love. I confirm it with my present charter.
2. <i>Dando concessi cunc- tis . . . Regnum ce- leste, si semper ui- uant honeste</i>	<i>Dedi et concessi</i> I have made a grant—heaven's bliss—to all re- pentant.	I have granted Heaven bliss, con- firmed through my charter (my body housed fair & free in the mass).	I have granted (thee) to live with me in Realm of Heaven's bliss. [My skin was the parchment on which the Deed was written].
[In caluarie summo sunt hec data, etc. See 8, below].		Between East and West, North and South, it is well known to those dwelling here.	[The Charter was sealed on Calvary between 2 thieves, that East and West, on high hill, I may judge both good and ill. <i>Quia neque ab oriente, neque ab occi- dente.</i>]

CARTA LIBERA	SHORT CHARTER	KENT CHARTER	LONG CHARTER
3.	<p><i>Habendum</i></p> <p>as long as I am Heaven's King.</p>	<p><i>To havyn and heldyn</i></p> <p>that sweet place, heritable and in fee.</p>	<p><i>To have and to holden</i></p> <p>without miss—free—with all the appurtenances.</p>
4. Nee quicquam cupio reddi nisi cordis amorem . . . pro feodo cor redde tuum mihi gratum. Taliter ecce modo tibi trado meum laceratum (heart). Inspice, deuote, ostendo pro te que quanta sunt mea pena. Hic sunt transfossa caro, uenē, etc. [nec ab inde recessi (i. e. from my Deed) . . . Aut si quando . . . faciant . . . grauamen, non ita delebor; si peniteant mi serebor].	<p><i>Redendo</i></p> <p>True love to God. Charity to one's neighbor.</p> <p>"Keep I no more for all my smart but true Love, man, of thy heart, and that thou be in charity," etc.</p>	<p>For the service of the chief lord of the fee, to keep from sin.</p>	<p>I ask no more but that thou be kind & remember my love deeds; that thou pay as rent the four-leaved grass of shrift, repentance, abandoning of sin, fear of God; which four=a True-Love . . . [Do not delay this rent. You may find it through the year. I will not forsake my deed, and if you fail, you shall have mercy.]</p>
5. Omnia sunt nuda . . . probra, sputa, flagella que plura, crux, clauis, spine . . . lancea, passio dura. Et si que pacior uideantur non satis arta, post hec en morior, hec mors, homo, fit tua carta. Nemo potest iure priuare quin ista tenebunt, en quot secure warantizare ualebunt.	<p><i>Warrantizatio</i></p> <p>If my deed—i. e., saving man—is disputed, I would do it again.</p>	<p><i>In Warrantyze</i></p> <p>I, Jesus, & my heirs bind ourselves to Christian men forever.</p>	

CARTA LIBERA	SHORT CHARTER	KENT CHARTER	LONG CHARTER
<p>6. <i>Testibus hiis factis tenebris . . . velo . . . petris . . . terremotu . . . testante Johanneque matre, ac aliis multis cum sacro neupmate patre.</i></p>	<p><i>Hijs Testibus</i> The day darkening The Sun withdrawing light The earth quaking The stones breaking The vail rending Men rising from the dead The Virgin mother The Apostle St. John Others many that were there.</p>	<p><i>These am the wytnesses trewe and god</i> garland of thorns scourges nails spear stoppe of eysil & gall The cry "Eli-Eli!" my bloody tears my bonds my pains other things</p>	<p>(The crowning with thorns) witnessed by the "Jewes alle," who said "Hail be thou," etc. (The giving of the eysil and gall) <i>Hijs Testibus</i> Matthew and John, Luke, Mark and many a one, and especially my "Moder Swete."</p>
<p>7. <i>In cuius rei testimonium requiei vt stet tranquillum proprium cor pono sigillum. . . sunt hec . . . sanguine scripta.</i> [The following occurs only in the 15th cent. text: sanguine tamen puro cartam, frater, tibi scripsi, et pro securo proprium cor penditur ipsi, amen].</p>	<p><i>In cuius rei testimonium</i>, I hang my own seal, & for more surety the wound in my { heart is the seal. { side Cor charte appensum rosei vice cerne sigilli, etc. (only in late MSS. B, C, D)</p>	<p><i>In wytnesse of thys thing</i> my side was opened for sealing, & I have set the seal of my heart's blood.</p>	<p>The ink for the Charter was the blood from the crown of thorns. [The five seals were wrought of steel and iron. They are—Father and Son, God and man, the Conception by the Holy Ghost.] Sealing wax = blood sought at Christ's heart.</p>
<p>8. <i>In caluarie summo sunt hec data gratis . . . die quo iam morior valeatis.</i></p>	<p><i>Datum apud Hierusalem</i> at Calvary, the first day of the great mercy.</p>	<p>Given and granted on Calvary, on that hill, Friday before the Passover in yr. of my reign 30 winter & 30 half year.</p>	<p>[<i>Consummatum est</i> this Charter is done.] [Date implied would be Good Friday, etc.]</p>
<p>9.</p>	<p>Legend on strap of seal—<i>factum est cor meum tanquam cera liques[cens]</i> Psal. 22 (13?). (Only in MSS. C)</p>		<p>The sealing wax was sought at my heart's root; <i>Factum est cor meum tanquam cera liques[cens]</i> in medio</p>

An examination of this table, and of the text of *Carta Domini*, shows that all the Deeds have in common:

(a) the legal form of a charter (including *formulae* clauses, such as *Reddendo*, *Hij's Testibus*, etc.), which is followed, however, in greater or less detail;

(b) the grant of Heaven to man (in *Carta Domini*, the grant is not expressed as such, but is clearly implied by the whole context of the Charter;

(c) the day of the crucifixion as the date of sealing or bestowal of the Deed.

It is probable, therefore, that these features belonged to the prototype of the extant texts.

It will be observed further, that *Carta Libera*, the *Long Charter*, and the *Short Charter*, besides particular resemblances of one with another, all contain in the *Reddendo* clause, the requirement of love or "true love" to God. Accordingly it will be well to note in detail the special relationship of these texts to one another.

First, however, it should be said that *Carta Libera*, though containing numerous popular features which ally it more closely with the other Deeds, yet is the only text clearly showing points of agreement with *Carta Domini*, exclusive of those already mentioned as belonging to all the Deeds. These points are: (a) the occurrence, at the end of its long list of witnesses, of the words *cum sacro neupmate patre*,⁵ which seem to mean that the Father and the Spirit were also witnesses to the Deed; (b) the statement that the Deed was written in Christ's blood.⁶ Thus *Carta Libera* may perhaps represent a state of transition from one type of Charter to

⁵ The sense seems to require a connective between *neupmate* and *patre* though the metre forbids. Note a similar omission of connectives in line 19.

⁶ In the *Long Charter*, however, the ink was the blood which flowed from the wounds made by the crown of thorns.

another. Its closest resemblance, however, is to the *Short Charter*, with which it has in common several points not to be found in the other Deeds:

(a) the phenomena of darkness, earthquake, etc., the Virgin Mary and St. John, as witnesses;

(b) Christ's own heart attached to the Deed for more security;

(c) Likenesses between the expression *et si que patior videantur non satis arda, post hec en morior*, of *Carta Libera*, and the following lines of the *Short Charter*:

If anyone should say now
That I have not died for man's prow,
Rather than man should be forlorn,
Yet would I eft be all to torn.

These resemblances might seem sufficiently striking to suggest that the *Short Charter* was translated directly from *Carta Libera*,⁷ with such omissions as the author saw fit to make; but to this theory there are two objections. One is that the *Short Charter*, by connecting the wound in Christ's side or heart with the seal, resembles the *Long Charter* and *Kent Charter*; and the other is that we should hardly expect so brief and concise a text as the *Short Charter* to derive from a source as detailed and complex in portions as *Carta Libera*. On the whole, therefore, I am inclined to regard the *Short Charter* as originating from an older and simpler Deed—either the text from which *Carta Libera* itself derived, or another farther back in the line of its descent.

Let us next examine the *Long Charter*. This version appears at first sight to be most closely related to *Kent Charter* by virtue of the fact that these two alone contain

⁷ A reversal of this relationship, though possible, is too improbable to be seriously considered.

the metaphor identifying the Saviour's Crucified Body with the Deed. This resemblance, however, must be regarded with caution. This figure, as has already been shown,⁸ was common in the literature of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; it may, therefore, have been introduced independently into each charter from one of these extraneous sources. Two other resemblances of the *Long Charter* with *Kent Charter* are:

(a) the mention (in 2) of East and West—a slight and probably wholly accidental parallelism.⁹ The context does not justify our assuming relationship from this likeness.

(b) the seal of one and sealing wax of the other identified with Christ's blood flowing from the wound in His heart or side.

It is possible that this last feature, joined to the common possession of the metaphor, may indicate that the *Long Charter* and *Kent Charter* were specially related. But on the other hand, the *Short Charter* also connected the wound in Christ's side with the seal, and it bears no other likeness to *Kent Charter*. But this resemblance in the three versions may, it seems to me, be accounted for most naturally by supposing either cross influence, or influence from some outside allusion such as those mentioned in Section 4. Early in the fourteenth century we find such expressions as the following, in a poem of Phillipps ms. 8336 (fol. 204^b)¹⁰ by William Herebert, a Franciscan who flourished about 1330:

⁸ See pp. xlvi ff.

⁹ The *Long Charter* here evidently intends a reference to *Psal.* lxxiv. 7: *Quia neque ab oriente, neque ab occidente, neque a desertis montibus.*

¹⁰ Ed. Thos. Wright, *Reliq. Antiq.* II. 227. Cf. note on Herebert, *Ibid.* I. 86 ff.

IV

Soethye he my robe tok
 Also ich finde in bok,
 He ys to me y-bounde;
 And helpe he wole, ich wot,
 Vor love the chartre wrot,
 And the enke orn of his wounde.

and it is likely that the feature of the seal varied in its details in other works also.

The *Long Charter* also resembles *Carta Libera* and the *Short Charter*¹¹ in recording as witnesses the Virgin and St. John, but adds also the other three Evangelists while lacking the phenomena of darkness, earthquake, etc., which appear in both the other texts. It has, beside, two features in common with *Carta Libera* alone:

- (a) Christ's promise of mercy to the repentant;
- (b) the description of the place of crucifixion by the adjective "high."

Moreover, in addition to these points of resemblance, there is further evidence that this Deed traces its descent from some text related to *Carta Libera*,¹² and that is the treatment

¹¹ In MSS. *C* and *D* of the *Short Charter*, there are two additional points of resemblance with the *Long Charter*: the legend *factum est cor meum tanquam cera liquescens in medio ventris mei*, and the four Evangelists—named, however, at the end of the document as *Notarii Publici*, and not as witnesses, such as they appear to be in the *Long Charter*. However, as these features do not occur in the earlier MSS. of the *Short Charter*, they are not of much significance in determining its relation to the *Long Charter*.

Moreover, by its addition of *kindness* to the rent of love to God in the *Reddendo* clause, the *Long Charter* might be regarded as resembling the *Short Charter*. Since, however, the *Short Charter* expresses this idea as loving "thy neighbor as I do thee," the likeness between the two Deeds does not appear to be very striking, and is more simply explained as coincidence. Love to God and to one's neighbor would naturally be associated in the mind of any Christian writer.

¹² I do not here include *Carta Domini*; because, though it, too, as

it accords to the matter of the sealing. It contains not one seal but five, the nails and spear of the crucifixion, to wit, Father and Son, God and Man, and the Conception by the Holy Ghost. This, however, is not very clear, and I suspect that we have here an indication that the author of the *Long Charter* was adapting the Trinity, in an earlier version, to suit his metaphor of Christ's Body and the Deed. For both *Carta Domini* and *Carta Libera* contain, in this connection, references to the Trinity. In *Carta Domini* we seem to have something near the primary form: *Sigillumque me divinitatis apposui cum testimonio patris et spiritus. Nam hii tres testimonia dant in celo*, etc. In *Carta Libera*, the corresponding passage runs: *pono sigillum*, and then, after enumerating other witnesses, *aliis multis cum sacro neupmate patre*. If now we assume that the words "God and man," in the *Long Charter*, are in apposition with "Son," we shall have, not five seals (representing the nails in the metaphor) but three: the Father, the Son, and the Conception by the Holy Ghost, corresponding apparently to the Persons of the Trinity, mentioned as seal and witnesses in the other two texts.

One other point remains to be noted in connection with *Kent Charter*. This text corresponds in some of its witnesses with the list of Christ's sufferings in the *Warranty* clause of *Carta Libera*. This again, it appears to me, must be an instance of outside or cross influence. *Kent Charter* is too unlike any of the other Deeds for us to be able to assert near relationship with them unless we accept its points of resemblance with the *Long Charter* as proof of such relation. Another stanza of Herebert's poem quoted above, will illustrate the difficulty of attempting to define exact relationships among these texts:

well as *Carta Libera*, is concerned with the following discussion, it has no other points of resemblance with the *Long Charter*.

V

Ich take to wytnessinge
 The spere and the crounynge,
 The nailes and the rode,
 That he that ys so cunde,
 Thys ever haveth in munde
 That bouhte ous wyth hys blode.

Here a number of the so-called witnesses are identical with those mentioned both in *Kent Charter* and in the *Warranty* clause of *Carta Libera*, and it is impossible to say which list gave rise to the others, or whether there is not also a fourth to which these may later be traced. In general, we may regard *Kent Charter* as a fairly late text,¹³ hence as particularly likely to contain material from various sources rather than from one version alone.

In conclusion, it may be said that the foregoing attempt at defining relationships among the Charters is by no means intended to be regarded as establishing facts, but merely as indicating probabilities. The evidence is too meagre, and the possibilities of outside elements contributing to the features of any Charter is too great a factor, to admit of certainty in the results attained.

§ 6. THE ADDITIONAL MATERIAL IN *Carta Domini* AND THE *Long Charter*.

Besides the Deed itself, as has previously been stated, *Carta Domini* and the *Long Charter* contain additional material developing themes suggested by the instrument. In these additions, however, neither text resembles the other even remotely. This portion of *Carta Domini* consists of a didactic discourse,¹ for which I know of no source. But for

¹³ Cf. p. xl.

¹ See p. xiii.

the additional passages in the *Long Charter*, which are narrative and descriptive in nature, it is evident that the author drew upon the stock material of his time. From the Complaints of Christ he may have borrowed details of the crucifixion scene, though these may quite as well have come from the numerous Passion poems, homilies, etc., of the period. It is impossible to trace the sources of this material, for it was the common fund of the age. One often finds details of this theme expressed in the same words by men who probably never saw each other's work. Such an expression as: "From His foot unto His head, He was nought else but all blood-red," for example, was picked up and handed about from one work to another, until it might almost be said to form part of the mediæval vocabulary, where Christ was the subject. The five wounds, the five red roses, Christ's coat-armour, etc., are subjects that received treatment at many different hands. The figure of the *Indenture*, however, as the Sacramental Body of Christ, I have been able to find nowhere except in the *Long Charter*. It may be that this conception belongs to the author of the A-text.

The expansion of the theme which one finds in the B- and C-texts consists likewise of material which was common to the religious literature of the time, though it is, for the most part, more didactic in character than that of the A-text. Examples are, the seven sacraments, the grief of the Virgin, Christ's admonition to man, etc. In one or two cases we can trace the source, as where the C-text incorporates material from the *Lamentacio Sancte Marie*.² But usually these expansions are so general in character that it is impossible to assign them to any particular source.

² See pp. lxxxix ff.

III

THE INTER-RELATIONS OF MANUSCRIPTS OF THE *SHORT CHARTER*

The text of the *Short Charter* comprises, in most of the manuscripts, but thirty-four lines, and the variants, except in a single case, do not offer an opportunity of distinguishing true from spurious readings. It is therefore impossible, with so little available material, to determine the inter-relations of the manuscripts, or to decide which manuscript best represents the text of the original. The following discussion makes no pretense of solving either of these problems; its purpose is merely to present such evidence as exists. This consists: (a) in the external features common to two or more texts; (b) in common readings.

The agreements of the manuscripts in external features may be exhibited in tabular form as follows:

Mss. containing Latin charter formula headings (no. of <i>formulae</i> varying)	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} A. \\ B. \\ C. \\ D. \\ E. - - \\ F. \\ G. \end{array} \right\}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{contain mention of pelican} \\ \text{contain legend } Cor \\ \text{charte appensum etc.} \\ \text{contains picture of} \\ \text{Christ on the Cross} \end{array} \right\}$	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \end{array} \right\} \text{Contain seal}$
Mss. without any Latin formula headings	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} H. \\ I.^1 \\ J. \\ K. \\ L. \\ M. \end{array} \right\}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \end{array} \right\}$	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \end{array} \right\} \text{Do not contain seal}$

¹ Ms. *I* has at the end of its text a shield with a heart inscribed

It is reasonable to suppose that the original of the *Short Charter*, being written in imitation of a legal document, would have either an actual seal, or a representation of one. Moreover, the seal is found in *A*, our oldest datable manuscript, as also in *E*, a manuscript of the early fifteenth century. Hence we may conclude that the seal was an original feature of the *Short Charter*, and that mss. *F*, *G*, *H*, *J*, *K*, *L*, and *M* depart from the original text in not retaining it. Now, the seals of *A*, *B*, and *E* are alike in containing the drawing of a wounded heart with five drops of blood.² Since the drawing (or seal) of ms. *I* is unique in form,³ and is attached at the wrong place after the words, "my own seal thereto I hang," it may have been added by the scribe of this manuscript, and not derived from the manuscript he was copying.

Thus we have two groups: *ABCDE*, and *FGHIJKLM*. This group-division is corroborated by the readings in line 14 where *FGHIJLM* agree in the reading, *as I do thee*, against *BCDE* (*A* unique). *K*, however, agrees here with *BCDE*; but this is probably merely a coincidence, since *K* does not resemble these manuscripts in other particulars, and is a very free version of the text.

The group *FGHIJKLM* is itself divided into *FG* and *HIJKLM*; because a) *HIJKLM* have none of the Latin *formulae*, which, since they exist in mss. *A* and *E*, and were regular parts of the legal form, were probably in the original

upon it. This may have been intended to represent a seal, as it follows the words "my own seal thereto I hang." See discussion below.

² What was on the seals of *C* and *D*, I do not know, as my roto-graphs of these mss. show only the upper portion of the strap from which the seal depended.

³ Whether the drawings called "suns" in the catalogue description of this ms. are really suns, or whether, as I believe, they are intended to represent wounds, does not materially affect the point under discussion, since at any rate the drawing in ms. *I* differs essentially from that in mss. *A*, *B*, and *E*. See the description of ms. *I*, pp. xxv f.

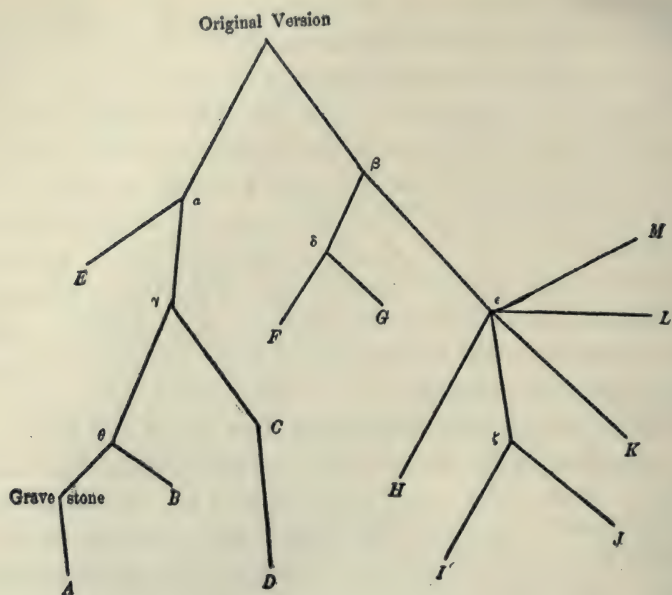
of the *Short Charter*; b) *IJKLM* agree in *al to brake*, 24, against *ABCDEF*, in *sonder brake* (mss. *G* and *H* being unique here, do not affect the grouping); c) *FG* agree in the readings of 23, 25, 29, and 30; in this last, *G* appears to be an emendation of the false reading of their common original. The reading of *L* in 30 is evidently a scribal blunder.

Within the subgroup *HIJKLM* a special relationship is disclosed between *I* and *J*, which agree in line 1 against *HKLM*. Since no other manuscript of the *Short Charter*—either within or outside the subgroup—confirms *IJ* in this line it is certain that the reading of these two mss. is to be regarded as a perversion.

Turning now to *ABCDE*, we find that mss. *A* and *B* agree in containing, at the base of the Charter, an allusion to a pelican, which is not found in *C*, *D*, and *E*. Moreover, *A* and *B* have in common two lines, *e* and *f*, which do not occur in the other manuscripts. *A* and *B*, then, are specially related. Mss. *B*, *C*, and *D* have in common the legend *cor charte appensum* etc., which does not occur in *A* probably because it was not reproduced upon the gravestone from which *A* was copied. *E* has none of these features. Whether they all belonged originally to the Charter, or to Group *ABCDE*, it is impossible to say, since none of them is an intrinsic feature of the Charter like the seal, which, as we should expect, is common to all this group.

Ms. *D* is clearly a copy of ms. *C*. They read exactly alike, except for very slight differences in spelling and capitalization, and the omission in *D* of the verse of Scripture which is written on the strap of the seal in *C*.

The results of the above classification, may be expressed in the following diagram:



IV

MUTUAL RELATIONS OF VERSIONS A, B, AND C, OF THE *LONG CHARTER*

It is my aim, in this chapter, to show that the A-text represents the oldest extant form of the *Long Charter*; that the B-text is a redaction made from A, with additions; and that the C-text represents a still later version derived from B.

In the succeeding discussion, the three versions will be referred to as A, B, and C, respectively. It will be necessary to have before us the following tables: the first, giving all the lines of A, with those corresponding in B and C; the second, giving lines which B has in common with C. The numbers in smaller type represent, in the first table, lines in B not occurring in A; in the second table, lines in C not occurring in B.

LINE CORRESPONDENCES BETWEEN A AND THE
OTHER VERSIONS

A	B	C
	1-24	
1-4	25-28	31-34
5-8	29-32	45-48
9-10	33-34	63-64
	35-36	
11-16	37-42	67-72
17-18	42a-42b	
19-20	45-46	77-78
21-22	43-44	75-76
	47-48	
23-24	49-50	81-82
	51-52	
25-28	53-56	89-92
	57-58	
29-34	61-66	99-104
35		
36	67 (altered)	
	68-70	
37-38	59-60	95-96
39-40		

LINE CORRESPONDENCES
BETWEEN B AND C

B	C
1-16	1-16
16a-16d	17-20
17-20	21-24
20a-20b	25-26
21-24	27-30
25-28	31-34
28a-28d	35-38
	39-40
28e-28h	41-44
29-32	45-48
	49-62
33-42	63-72
42a-42b	
	73-74
43-62	75-84
	85-88
53-60	89-96
	97-98
61-74	99-112
	113-116

LINE CORRESPONDENCES BETWEEN A AND THE
OTHER VERSIONS

A	B	C
41	72	110
42	71	109
43-44	73-74	111-112
	75-80	
45-46	81-82	
	83-84	
47-51	85-89	123-126 and 128
	90	
52	91	129
	92	
53-54	93-94	131; 0
	95-96	
55-56	97-98	
	99-102	
57-59	103-105	
	106	
60	107	
	108-120	
61-62	121-122	
	123-126	
63-64	127-128	167-168
	129-130	
65-66	131-132	171-172
	133-134	
67-68	135-136	177-178
69		
70	141	183
71-72	137-138	179-180
	139	
73-74	140	182
	142-150	
75-77	151-153	207-208; 0
	154-156	
78		
79-98	157-176	230-252 and 257-262
	177-178	
99-109	179-189	last line only, 265
110-112	190-192	last two only, 270-269
113-116	193-196	last line only, 268
	197-198	
117-128	199-210	273-284
	211-212	
129-130		
131-140	213-222	287-290; 523-26; 529-30
	223-224	
141-150	225-234	527-28; 533-540
	235-236	
151-162	237-248	543-554
163-164	250-249	(partially)
165	251	315
	252	
166		

LINE CORRESPONDENCES
BETWEEN B AND C

B	C
75-76	117-118
77-78	
79-80	119-120
81-82	
83-93	121-131
	132-138
94-122	
123-124	139-140
	141-154
125-126	155-156
	157-166
127-132	167-172
	173-174
133-146	175-188
	189-190
147-148	191-192
	193-204
149-152	205-208
152a-152b	209-210
	211-212
152c-152d	213-214
	215-216
153-154	235-236
	237-238
155-156	217-218
	219-224
157-170	239-252
	253-256
171-178	257-264
179-188	
189	265
	266-267
190	
191-192	270-269
193-195	
196	268
197-216	271-290
	291-314
217-220	523-526
221-224	529-532
225-226	527-528
227-250	533-556
251-264	315-328
	329-330
265-270	331-336
	337-350
271-272	225-226
	227-234
273	362
274	361
275-276	363-364
277-278	359-360

LINE CORRESPONDENCES BETWEEN A AND THE
OTHER VERSIONS

A	B	C
167	254 255-264	318
168	253	317
169-172	265-268 269-276	331-334
173-174	293-294 295-296	371-372
175-178	297-300 301-320	455-458
179-180	283-284 ¹ 285-288	365-366
181-182	289-290 291-292	351-352
183-184	277-278 279-282	359-360
185-186	321-322 323-338	481-482
187-198	339-350	501; 0; 511-520
199-202		
203-208	351-356 357-360	521-22; 557-559; 0
209-214	361-366 367-372	. . . last two, 569-570
215-228	373-386 387-392	577-590
229		
230	(suggests 411)	(suggests 615)
231	393 394-410	597
232-233		
	412	
234	(suggests 413-14)	(suggests 617-618)

LINE CORRESPONDENCES
BETWEEN B AND C

B	C
279-282	355-358
283-288	365-370
289-292	351-354
293-294	371-372 373-452
295-316	453-474 475-476
317-332	477-492 493-494
333-339	495-501 502-510
340	
341-352	511-522
353-355	557-559 560-564
356	
357-360	565-568
361-364	
365-390	569-594 595-596
391-392	
393-404	597-608
405-406	611-612
407-408	609-610
409-414	613-618

An examination of these line correspondences brings out at once the following facts:

I. A and B have thirty-five lines in common which are not found in C.

II. B and C have one hundred and seventy-five lines² in common which are not found in A.

III. A and C have no lines in common which are not also found in B.

¹ Both by position and rhyme.

² Because they are peculiar to ms. *F* alone of the B-text, I have not here included lines 16a-16d, 28a-28h, and 152a-152d. If they be included, the number becomes 191.

It is evident, therefore, that B occupies an intermediate position with respect to A and C. Hence we are obliged to accept one of the following alternatives: either (1) A derives from B; in which case either C is derived from B, or else B is derived from C; or (2) B derives from A; in which case it follows that C must be derived from B.¹

The second of these alternatives, as I hope to show, is the true one. The evidence offered has to do both with structure and wording, but as these in some cases cannot be considered separately, I have made no attempt at a rigid distinction between the two classes of evidence. In the succeeding discussion, unless otherwise stated, any manuscript of either version will serve to exemplify the facts pointed out, except, of course, where part of the text of a manuscript is missing. Passages quoted have, where possible, been taken from ms. *G* in Version A and from ms. *C* in Version B, for these manuscripts furnish, on the whole, the best texts of their respective versions.²

It seems advisable to begin with a passage, which even without other evidence, would, in my opinion, be sufficient to show that B was taken from A. Let us compare A 171-86 with B 267-322.

First, if we suppose that A was derived from B, we must assume that the author of A skipped about in the text before him and picked out his lines (omitting some entirely) in this sequence: B 267-8; 293-4; 297-300; 283-4; 289-90; 277-8; 321-2. While the altered order of these lines might be explained on the hypothesis that A wished to restore the order of events according to the Scriptural narrative, by placing the committal of the Virgin to St. John before the

¹ Thien, in his discussion of the *Planctus* contained in Version C (*Ueber die Eng. Marienklagen* 82) remarks in passing: "Die genannte längste Version [C-text] . . . , ebenso wie die zweitlängste [B-text] . . . aus der kürzesten [A-text] . . . entwickelt, ist die einzige der Versionen die eine Mkl. enthält." He had evidently not noted the intermediate relation in which B stands to the other two texts.

² See Chapter v. §§ 1 and 2.

cry *Pater lamazabatani*; ³ yet this is not a satisfactory solution, since A was not following the Scriptural account very closely.⁴ Secondly, upon this hypothesis it would be hard to account for his having altered the subject matter of B 300-20.

On the other hand, if we suppose that B was taken from A, the situation, as it seems to me, admits of a plausible explanation. First, we should have the following sequence: A 171-2; 8 new lines; 183-4; 4 new lines; 179-80; 4 new lines; 181-2; 2 new lines; 173-4; 2 new lines; 175-8; 20 new lines; 185-6. This would mean simply that A 179-84 were taken out of their place and inserted between 172 and 173, but that the last two were put in first. B's reasons for these changes can, I think, be explained, if one notes that in the A-text the passage we are considering covers only sixteen lines, all of which probably lay before the reviser on a single page, so that his alterations would not involve the turning of leaves or reading ahead for any considerable distance.⁵ B, being, as we suppose, a reviser and not a mere copyist, read lines 171-186 of A before writing them down. On coming to A 177-80, he did not grasp their meaning:

177 þ^t I ne hadde wher to take
 My testament wherof to make

³ The committal preceded the offer of vinegar (St. John XIX. 26-30); but as the cry *Eli! Eli! lama sabachthani* was the immediate occasion for the offering of drink to Christ (St. Matth. XXVII. 46-48; St. Mark XV. 34-36), the committal must also have preceded the cry.

⁴ Note that the Gospels recording both the offer of vinegar and gall to the Lord and the cry *Eli! Eli! lama sabachthani* (Sts. Matthew and Mark), place the drink immediately after the cry, which is followed directly by the death of Christ; whereas in A (and B) the incident of the vinegar and gall precedes not only the cry but also the committal of the Virgin—a double departure from Scriptural order.

⁵ Had A, on the contrary, been the reviser, he would have been dealing with a block of text comprising fifty-four lines, and his task would have been much more complicated.

But of my moder lef and dere
 180 Sho stod by me wiþ reuful chere [MS. G].

Line 178 probably suggested to him—as it did to me on first reading—that Christ had nothing out of which to make His Testament, just as He had no parchment for His Charter, lines 51-54.⁶ The next line, then, would have no connection, and would, to him, mean simply, “But to speak of my mother, she stood by me sorrowing,” etc. Hence the lines mentioning the Testament would look like an isolated couplet, meaning little, and separating two groups relating to the Virgin. But lines 175-77:

So bare I was of wordles god
 Whan I sholde deye vpon þe rod
 þat I ne hadde wher to take [MS. G]

did suggest to B the text of Scripture in which Christ declares that He has nowhere to lay His head.⁷ This inspired

Ne miȝhte I fynde no parchemyn
 ffor to laston wel and fyn
 But as loue bad me do
 Myn owne skyn y ȝaf þer to [MS. G].

⁶ St. Matthew VIII. 20: “And Jesus saith unto him, ‘The foxes have holes, and the birds of the heaven have nests; but the Son of man hath not where to lay his head.’” [Rev. Vers.] Cf. also St. Luke ix. 58. The treatment of this theme was sufficiently common in the Middle Ages. See for example, *Disputation between Mary and the Cross*, *Minor Poems of the Vernon MS.* II. (E. E. T. S. Orig. Ser. 117) 614.

ffoules fourmen heor nestes in þe eyr;
 Wolues, in den, reste þei fynde;
 But Godes sone, in heuene heir,
 His hed nou leoneþ on þornes tynde.

Cf. also Thien, *Ueber die Eng. Marienklagen* (Kiel 1906) 51, who refers in this connection to the *Lamentacio sancti Bernardi*, ed. Kribel, *Eng. Stud.* VIII. 85 ff., lines 369-72:

allas, þin heuid þei al torace,
 þat was wouid lye to my brest:
 I saw it honge & had no space,
 Wher on it myȝhte ouht han reste.

B's imagination to enlarge upon the theme, and so, after prefixing two lines (295-6):

Vpon my shuldur y layde myn hedde
Whan y þrow; faste vnto my deed [B-text, ms. A].

by way of introduction, he changed A 178 to what we find in B 300:

Reste to myne hedde wher-of to make

and followed it by a long digression upon Christ's having no rest in the world, etc.

But this passage of B's, if written directly after A 178, would separate widely the two dealing with the Virgin Mary. So B moved the second of these (179-184) back to connect it with the first (A 171-2), making interpolations to develop the theme of the Virgin's grief, a subject which appealed strongly to the mediæval imagination.⁸ In this shifting, however, A 183-4 is put first instead of last where it would ordinarily occur:

In cnowlychyng I made a cry
Pater lamaꝗabatany

B making slight alterations. Curiously enough, A and B both connect the cry *Pater lamaꝗabatany* with our Lord's distress at seeing His mother's suffering. It is possible, therefore, that B thought that the proper place for it was, not after the committal of the Virgin to St. John, but immediately connected with lines 171-2 and the new lines B 269-76, which deal very vividly with the Virgin's grief. Or, another reason for the position B gives to 183-4 might be

⁸ The fact that B chose to connect A 173-174 with what followed it, rather than with what preceded it, is confirmation of this explanation, as it shows that B did not grasp the meaning of the passage. He doubtless took *testament* 178 as referring to *chartre* 173, regarding 173-178 as a unit. Perhaps his copy of the Charter was entitled *Testament of Christ*, as is the version of ms. Vernon.

that he wished to make Christ's cry of dereliction the cause of the swooning of Mary, which he introduces as a new feature in the lines following, B 279-80.

It is interesting to note the changes B made in A 179-80:

But of my moder lef and dere
Sho stod by me with rueful chere [MS. G].

We recognize them in B 283-4, altered in such a manner as to incorporate them into the description of the scene with less abruptness:

When y layde my hedde her & per
My moþer changed all he[r] chere [MS. A].

Moreover, a very significant alteration is that made by B in A 171-2, which read as follows:

And namely my moder swete
ffor she lufte neuer teres lete [MS. G].

ffor she is in B altered to the relative pronoun *that*, because B wished to begin the interpolated passage immediately following, with *for*, thus:

267 And namely my modyr swete
That for me blody teres gan lete
269 *ffor* per she stode unþer þe rode [B-text, MS. A]

The next passage we shall examine is A 29-42 = B 57-72. The most important differences between the two texts here involve: A 41-42 = B 72-71; A 37-38 = B 59-60; and B 69-70, which has no equivalent in A. Now B 71-72, as it stands, does not make good sense:

69 Nowe derworthly soule herke to me
And A newe Ioye I xal telle the
To make A chartore of feffement
72 heuen And erth schuld be present [MS. C].

Line 71 cannot be connected with line 70, and if connected with 72 the statement means nothing. Heaven and earth were not to make the Charter! But upon examining these lines in A, we find that they are joined in thought and syntax to lines 38-40:

- 37 Wel he fond hym geyned noȝt
 38 *another help was in my pouȝt*
 more syker þe to make
 40 a geyn þi fo ful of wrake
 Heuene and erthe in present
 42 To make a chartre of feffement [MS. G],

and mean clearly enough: "another help was in my mind to make thee more safe against thy foes, namely, heaven and earth *being present*, to make a charter of feoffment." The infinitive *to make* of line 42 is in apposition with *another help* of line 38. But line 38 (= B 60) is very different in the B-text, and stands in an altogether different place, i. e., immediately before the description of the temptation, B 61 (= A 29):

- 59 wroth he was it helpe hyme noughte
 for to helpe the was All my thoughte
 he tempted me to gret foly
 in pride covetyse And glotenye [B-text, MS. C].

This leaves the infinitive *to make*, B 71 (A 42), without logical connection. B did not see, or else he forgot, the intimate relation existing between lines 38 and 42 of A. So, wanting some material to make the transition between A 28 and 29 less abrupt—

- 27 Tho belsabub and sathanas
 28 *Hadde gret wounder whi it was*
 He fondes me wiþ felonye
 39 Wiþ pryde couetise and glotenye [MS. G]—

he moved A 37-38 up to this point, altering as he desired, and prefixed two explanatory lines of his own, B 57-58:

- 55 þat cursed fende Sathanas
 hade gret wondyr why it was
 57 *wher for I schulde so meche loue the*
 58 *that so unkend hast be to me*
 59 wroth he was it helpe hym noughte, [B-text, ms. C].

This assuredly improves the poem, for in A 28 the expression *whi it was* is by no means clear, and the transition from line 28 to 29 is very abrupt.

But this left A 39-42 in bad shape. The author of B now cut out 39-40 which had lost their connection, and substituted two lines of his own (69-70) perhaps for the purpose of emphasizing the Charter, which is here mentioned for the first time:

- 69 *Nowe derworthly soule herke to me*
 70 *And A newe Ioye I xal telle the*

This, of course, left A 41-42 absolutely stranded. So B altered them to read as follows:

- 71 To make A chartore of feffemente
 72 heuene And erth schuld be presente [ms. C].

Had the author of B been the author of the poem, he would have changed these lines to read:

- heuene And erth in presente
 I make A chartore of feffemente

thus making good sense, as well as fulfilling the grammatical requirements. But B shows in his treatment of this passage that he has not grasped A's idea at all, and feebly alters the lines so that, though remaining grammatically correct, they are logically without point. We have, therefore, in B 57-72, clear evidence, not only that B was derived from A, but also

that the author of the B-text was not the author of the Charter, but a reviser only.⁹

The construction of B 93-102 also throws light upon the question of the priority of A over B:

- 89 Parchement to fynde wyst I none
 90 To make thy charture Aȝene thy fone
 þat wolde last wyth oute ende
 herkenyth now to my wordes hende
 93 but as trewe loue bad me do
 Myn owne skynne I toke þere-to
 95 And whanne I hade ȝit so I-do
 96 wul fewe frendes had I þo
 97 to get me frendes I ȝaf gret mede
 as doth þe pore þat hath gret nede
 But for to ȝeue the I hade no more
 100 for thi sowle þat was for-lorne
 þanne myselfe for to ȝeue the
 102 þat for the dyed vppon A tre [ms. C].

Lines 95-96 are very poor, and their logical connection with the preceding is not of the clearest. Moreover, the next six lines do not progress but leave us at the end just where we started. The thought of the passage might be expressed in this way: "as true love bade me, I gave my own skin for the Charter. When I had done this, I had but few friends; to get some I gave good reward, but had nothing to give but myself." Now I believe that this awkwardness arose from B's not grasping A's thought. The parallel passage in A runs as follows:

- 51 ne myȝte I fynde no parchemyn
 52 ffor to laston wel and fyn

⁹The changes made by B in A 33-36 (B 65-68) are unimportant, and doubtless arose from B's effort to improve upon A. Certainly A 34 is a very poor line.

- But as loue bad me do
 Myn owne skyn y ȝaf þer-to
 55 To gete me frendes I ȝaf god mede
 So doþ þe pore þat haþ gret nede [MS. G].

It will be noted that A lacks B 95-96 and 99-102. A's meaning is undoubtedly this: "as love bade me do, I took my own skin for the parchment—to obtain followers (disciples) I gave good reward indeed; just as the poor man does in his need"; i. e. the reward, or payment, is the giving of His skin to be used as parchment, or, in other words, the death upon the Cross.¹⁰ Since B missed the connection between A 54 and 55, he thought the reference to *friends* must be made clear; and having in mind those who forsook the Lord in the time of His need, he inserted lines 95-6 to lead up in some degree to line 97. In the same way, supposing the word *mede*, in A 55, to be without connection, he wrote 99-102 to show what the *mede* was. Had B been the original, and A the revised text, it would be difficult to find a satisfactory explanation for A's omission of B 95-6 while retaining 97-98, and for his omission of 99-102.

The next passage indicating that B was derived from A is found in A 165-71 = B 251-67. A reads:

- 165 Aporst I was ful sore y-swonke
 þe beuerache moste neþes ben þronke
 A loue drynk I asked of þe
 Eysel and galle þou ȝeue me

¹⁰ As I understand A in this passage, there is no intention of leading up to the Last Supper in the expression: *I ȝaf good mede*. The Last Supper was not instituted by Christ in any sense as a bribe, or price of men, nor could it have been so conceived by A. Indeed, both A and B describe the Eucharist as being intended "Boþe frend and fo to maky glade" (MS. G, line 58) with heavenly food, and to be the memorial of the Passion of Christ. Hence the colon punctuation after line 56 of the Vernon text, in the *E. E. T. S.* edition, p. 641, is wrong, and a period should be substituted.

- Hijz testibus* Matheus and Iohan
 170 Luk Mark and many on
 171 And namely my moder swete [MS. G].

Now in B 251-4, corresponding to A 165-8, we see preparations leading to the introduction of a new idea, namely, a figurative drink asked of man by the Lord, which is developed in B 255-264 (not occurring in A). Beginning at 251, B reads:

- 251 *Well drye y was & thursted sore*
But of such drynk myzt y no more
ffor aysell & galle þey ȝef to me
But on drynke aske y of the
 255 That þou be louyng towards þy fone
 oper drynke of þe aske y non
 ȝef þou me loue haue þis yn mynde
 To þy enemyes be þou ryght kynde
 Ensaumpull þou myzt take her of me
 260 For loue of my fone y honge on tre
 But my fadyr y pray the
 Vpon my enemyes þat þou haue pyte
 And as y do do þou to þyne
 Then saued shalt þou be fro helle pyne
 265 He ben wytnesses mo þen on
 Marke Mathew luke & jon [MS. A].

The preparatory lines 251-4 are, however, not skilfully managed by B. Line 252, which has no equivalent in A, is wellnigh meaningless. But the significant feature about them lies in the inversion of the order of lines 253-4 from that in the A-text. It is clear that B made this change because "on drynke aske y of þe" leads up better to his interpolated passage 255 ff.¹¹ Moreover, it will be noticed that

¹¹One might question whence B could have drawn this peculiar conception of "on drynke . . . that þu be louyng," etc. Perhaps the word *loue-drynke* in A suggested it to him; or possibly he copied *loue* as *one* because he missed seeing the *l* (it may have been illegible or widely separated from the rest of the word).

the interpolation of B 255-264 leaves lines 265-266 (A 169-170) without connection with what precedes them. In A, however, these two lines are in very close connection with the preceding lines. The differences that appear in this passage between the two texts are easily explainable on the hypothesis that B is derived from A, but are much less easily intelligible on the contrary hypothesis.

Again in B, lines 197-8, which have no equivalent in A, suggest a misunderstanding of the A-text on the part of the author of B:

- 197 In my blyful Ioye eyr to dwelle
198 for þe rent þat I xal þe telle [MS. C].

Now B inserts these lines between 116 and 117 of the following passage of the A-text, separating a direct object from its verbs, and implying a false relation:

- 107 Wiþ my chartre here in present [B 187]
 I make heron confirmament [B 188]
 That I haue *granted* and yþeue [B 189]
110 To þe mankynde *with* me to leue [B 190]
 In my revme of heuon blisse
 To haue & to holden *with-uten* mysse
 In a condicioun *þif þou* be kynde
 And my loue dedes haue in mynde
115 ffre *to haue and fre to holde* [B 195]
116 Wiþ al þe purtinaunce to wolde [B 196]
117 *Min erytage* þat is so fre [B 199]
 ffor homage ne for fewte [B 200]
 No more wole I aske of þe [B 201]
120 But a four leued gras to þelde me [MS. G].

Min erytage, line 117, is the direct object of *to haue* and *to holde* in 115. But in B this object is separated by lines 197-8 from its verbs. Moreover, line 198 introduces the mention of rent, which does not belong at this point, but after 199 (= A above, line 118). I believe this interpola-

tion shows that B did not observe the connection of *min erytage* with *to have* and *to holde* of A 115, but supposed their object to be the same as that of *to have & to holden with-uten mysse* in A 112, namely, a *feffement*, which B substituted for the *confirmament* of A 108.¹²

There are, in A, certain words and expressions that B seems to have altered either because they were archaic or unfamiliar to him, or because they were not sufficiently refined for his taste. These alterations I offer as evidence corroborative of what it has been my effort to prove in the preceding paragraphs of this chapter:

A 29: fondes or fondede	= B 61: tempted
A 67: kirtel	= B 135: mantylle
A 74: forletton	= B 140: forsoken
A 75: piht, or plyȝt	= B 151: bound ¹³
A 76: tawed	= B 152: beten
A 83: neb, nesse ¹⁴	= B 161: face
A 84: Of iewes spotel on me to stynke ¹⁵	= B 162: thornes in my hed gan to synke
A 136: stiȝ	= B 218: smyth
A 141: þurledon, or thrille- don	= B 225: smyten
A 165: yswonke or swon- gen	= B 251: dry
A 209: bykeȝe or bykeye	= B 361: a wel faire thyng
A 212: þar þe not drede	= B 364: to kepe þe euer
A 218: camelyn	= B 376: satyn

¹² In Dr. Furnivall's print of Harl. 2382, *Minor Poems of the Vernon* MS. II. (E. E. T. S.) the punctuation of a period after line 198, and of a comma after line 199, is therefore incorrect. There should be a period after 199, and a comma after 198.

¹³ But see line 247, where the word is retained.

¹⁴ Ms. H of the A-text reads *face*, but, as will be seen later (Chapter v. § 4), the readings of this MS. do not affect those of the B-text.

¹⁵ MSS. I and K read differently; but see Chapter v. § 4.

Now since a revised text is necessarily of a later date than its original, there is a strong probability that it will show modernization, rather than archaization, of vocabulary; hence the above list certainly contributes to the argument that A is the original text. It adds force also to the argument that B was not written by A.

This concludes the evidence I have to offer regarding the dependence of B upon A.¹⁶

It has already been demonstrated (pp. lxix f.) that if B is derived from A, C is derived from B. If, therefore, my argument for the derivation of B from A is sound, it follows as a necessary consequence that C was derived from B. Nevertheless, it seems desirable to consider certain passages of B and C, both because they show that the differences between the two texts confirm the validity of my argument, and

¹⁶ The two following lists of classified interpolations made in the poem by B may prove of interest as showing B's contribution to the material he found. Interpolations discussed in the preceding pages are not recorded here, since they have already been accounted for.

I. To explain A-text.	II. To add interesting subject matter.	
B 47-48	B 1-24	177-78
69-70	35-36	211-12
129-30	51-52	223-24
133-34	75-80	249-50
235-36	83-84	323-38
357-60	108-20	367-72
	123-26	387-92
	142-50	394-410
	154-56	412.

With B, lines 20a-22 (C 25-28), compare the *Lamentacio Sancte Marie* of the Vernon ms. (*E. E. T. S.* Orig. Ser. 98, p. 298) lines 15-16:

þe mon þat con, and teche nille,
He mai haue drede of godes wreche.

B's additions in 154-156, and 177-178, present difficulties, in that the former is a clumsy repetition of 151-152, and the latter does not join with what follows.

because they enable us to perceive the method which the author of C pursued.

The Charter, in the A- and B-texts, makes a grant of eternal life in heaven to man. See B 37-39 and 188 ff.:

Myne erytage that is so fre
In þi myscheffe I ȝaf the
And whanne þat solyngē A ȝeue þe solde, etc.

.
I make to mannes Soule a feffementē
þat I haue *grantyde* and I-ȝeue
To mankend wyth me for to be
In my kindome of hevene blysse [MS. C],

which correspond to A 11-13, and 108-111. Now C has changed *myn heritage* to *my blysfyl body*, lines 67 ff., thus substituting the Sacrament as Christ's gift to man. This is in accord with C's emphasis upon the Sacrament all through (for instance, note his interpolations of 132-138; 141-154; and 560-64). But when referring, in a later passage, to the grant made by Christ's Charter, C does not seem to remember his previous alteration of *heritage* to *my blysfyl body*, and retains the idea of heaven in the grant, as in B. See C 264-72:

264 þat I ihesus of nazaret, godys sone,
265 as gyn for euer, & grauntyd,
and be þis charter confermed,
how mans sawle in my joy to belde,
Wyt all þe purtenance *per* with to welde,
to af & to hald *with-outy[n]* mysse
270 þat for-sayd place, heuen blysse,
In þat blyssed place for euer to dwell,
272 for þe rent þat I sall þe tell

Next, let us consider an important alteration made by C in the following lines from B:

- 353 *Oon endentur y lafte with þe*
 Wher-of þou shalt euer sykur be
 355 In þe prestus honde my flessch & blode
 That for þe was honged on þe rode [MS. A].

This reads, in C:

- 557 *þis charter þus celyd, lewe I wyll þe,*
 Ware-by þu sall ay sekyr be:
 My precyus body, of þe preste hande
 560 for to resaywe, þu sall vnderstand

On comparing C 557 with B 353, we see that C has changed the word *indenture* of B (as of A) to *charter*. Here C misses the whole point of the allegory as conceived by A and followed by B. For note that in A and B, the *Charter* is that Body of Christ which was sacrificed on the Cross, written upon by scourges, sealed with nails and spear, and completed by the death of Him who grants it—“Consummation est, þis Charter is doon”; but the Body of Christ as present in the Eucharist is the *Indenture*:

- B 353 *Oon endentur y lafte with þe*
 .
 .
 .
 .
 .
 .
 .
 .
 .
 In þe prestus honde my flessch & blode, etc.

They are, of course, in a sense, identical, yet different. Now originally, an *indenture* was a deed having two copies. “Both copies,” says the *New English Dictionary*, “were written on one piece of parchment or paper, and then cut asunder in a serrated or sinuous line, so that when brought together again at any time, the two edges exactly tallied, and showed that they were parts of one and the same original document: hence the expression ‘pair of indentures.’” This, it is stated, is the earliest sense of the word.¹⁷ The

¹⁷ Among examples given by the *New English Dictionary* is the following from Barbour’s *Bruce* i. 513: “The barownys thus accordyt

conception of A, followed by B, is, then, that the Sacramental Body of Christ is the copy of the ascended Crucified Body, given to man by the Saviour as surety of the heavenly heritage. The Charter is to be read at the last day (cf. A 228, B 386); but those who have received the Sacramental Body, the "Indenture," may claim their inheritance when they will.¹⁸

This ingenious and poetical application of the figure in the word *indenture* was overlooked by the author of C, who, as has been pointed out, alters the word to *charter*; so that what was, in A and B, a consistent and effective allegory becomes, in C, a confused mixture of two ill-defined ideas—namely, the literal and sacramental aspects of Christ's Body; indeed, I should say of three ideas, since the heritage of heaven is also involved (in 269-73, previously quoted).

Another passage radically altered by C, requires notice, namely, B 267-292 (= C 333-364). The significant changes are chiefly in the order of the lines, and usually we can trace C's reason for the shiftings. The first point to be noticed is the insertion of B 289-292 after B 270 and the interpolation of C following it, and of B 279-82 immediately after these—changes resulting in C 351-358.

This shifting is easy to understand. B 289-92 is as follows:

289 When seyn john y her betoke
290 She caste on me a drwly loke

ar, And that Ilk nyght writyn war Thair Endenturis, and aythis maid." Another is from Caxton's *Chron. Eng.* CXLVIII. 127: "The fourme of accord . . . was in a payr of Endentures and they put her seales vnto that one part, and they that comen in the kynges name putt her seales to that other part of endentures."

¹⁸ Cf. A 232: Come and cleyne whan þou wilt

þe blisse þat loste oure former frende,

and lines in B expressing a similar idea.

As þouȝ y hadde her all forsake
 292 And to an-oþer sone her be take
 [MS. A; = C 351-54]

and B 270 (referring to the Virgin):

She sawe my body all on blode [= C 336]

After this line C has inserted an interpolation of fourteen lines, developing the scene at the Cross more fully, the last five of which record the committal of St. Mary to St. John:

345 & I sayd to my moder Mary:
 'Be-halde þi sone þat standes þe by!'
 To Ion I spak wordes of pyte:
 'Behald þi moder! hy tak hyre to þe'
 Wen I spak þis wordes þere,
 350 Vntyll hyre hart þai went ful nere;

At this point, therefore, it would naturally occur to C that the above lines in B, 289-92 relating to the same subject, fit better here than where they stand in B. C accordingly inserts them at the end of his interpolation, consequently after B 270.

He next inserts B 279-282 directly after this altered passage, as follows:

C 355 Onone scho fell downe in swounynge
 Be-for þe cros at my dyynge
 þe paynes þat I hade were full sore,
 C 358 Bot for my moder þai were wel more!

Thus C evidently preferred that the swooning of the Virgin should result from her being resigned to St. John rather than from Christ's cry, *Ely lamazabatany*. To be delivered over to the care of another would bring home to a mother's heart more bitterly than anything else would, what her son's death was to mean to her. The touch is a natural one, and shows keen insight into human nature. Accordingly, C is

obliged also to change the position of B 277-8, containing Christ's cry, to a point where it shall no longer be the occasion of the Virgin's swooning. Hence, after aptly changing "for sorow of her y made a cry" (B 277) to "for soro of my passioun I made a cry," C inserts B 277-8 before B 273-6, where they produce the effect of merely intensifying the Virgin's misery. This is, however, not a very satisfactory change, since it leaves Christ's cry still in the midst of a description of the Virgin's grief, instead of, as in A and the Scriptures, immediately preceding Christ's death, its proper place:

- | | | |
|-------|---------------------------------------|-----------|
| C 357 | pe paynes þat I hade were full sore | [= B 281] |
| 358 | Bot for my moder þai were wel more! | [= B 282] |
| 359 | ffor soro of my passion I made a cry, | [= B 277] |
| 360 | A cryed 'hely lama zabatany.' | [= B 278] |
| | it semed my moder hart wald brek; | [= B 274] |
| | No worde to me þer myght scho speke; | [= B 273] |
| | No wonder was if hyre were wo, | [= B 275] |
| 364 | Wen sho saw me dyght so!, etc. | [= B 276] |

Observe too, that whereas B had shifted the episode of the committal of the Virgin to a point *after* the Saviour's last cry, C has returned to the original sequence in placing the cry after the committal, as in A. To do this it was not necessary that he should have seen a copy of A, for in all the Gospels the "Eli! Eli! lama-sabachthani," or another cry not expressed in words, is uttered by Christ just before His death; and C may very well have noticed the false sequence in B, and have sought to alter it.

An omission from C of twenty-nine lines of B (94-122) requires special notice. The gap is just after C 131. Instead of the B lines that would naturally stand here, the C-text gives seven new lines, and then goes on to B 123-4. These B lines, however, were not dropped by C himself, but by the loss of a leaf from some manuscript between C's own text and our copy, ms. Royal 17. C xvii., as an exami-

nation of C's seven new lines and their relation to the preceding text will show:

- | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------------------------|---------|
| 127 | to mak þi charter of þi wele-fare, | [B 90] |
| | parchemen to fynde wyst I neuer ware | [B 89] |
| | þat wyld last to þe warldes end;— | [B 91] |
| 130 | harkyns now to my wordes hend!— | [B 92] |
| | Bot as trew loue bad me do, | [B 93] |
| | <i>loke ware I af not done so.</i> | |
| | <i>þis wordys are þus to vnderfong</i> | |
| | <i>to lewed men in ynglys tong:</i> | |
| 135 | <i>My flesche trewly es mans fode,</i> | |
| | <i>þat for mans saule dyed on þe rode;</i> | |
| | <i>My blode for sothe þi drynk sal be,</i> | |
| | <i>þat for þe was sched on þe rod[e] tre.</i> | |
| | Wo-so it resaywes wyt-outyn mys, | [B 123] |
| 140 | Sawyð sal he be, & cum to blys; | [B 124] |

It will be evident that the seven new lines do not connect with what goes before, but contain an explanation of the Sacrament. Now since a reference to the Last Supper, followed by an explanation of the Sacrament, is exactly what we have in the missing text of B, it is probable that C's seven new lines were merely an addition made by him to B 94-122, which were present in the copy from which he was transcribing, and that *þis wordys*, of C 133, refer to *Hoc facite in meam commemoracionem*, which occur in the missing passage.¹⁹ That this rubric stood, in the original text

¹⁹ Cf. with this, *De Lamentacione Sancte Marie* ed. Fröhlich (Leipzig 1902) 84:

- | | |
|-----|---------------------------------|
| 526 | To cry full loud my son bigan: |
| | ‘Hely, hely,’ his crying was, |
| | ‘Lamazabatany’ efter þan. |
| | þir wordes er als men may se |
| 530 | In ynglysch tong to vnderstand: |
| | ‘Fader, whi forsoke þou me, |
| | þus to be bon in bytter band?’ |

[from ms. Rawl. poet. 175.]

Here “þir wordes” refer to the Hebrew which needed translation.

of B, directly after line 122,²⁰ is probable, because the marginal rubric of MS. *E*, *memoriam fecit [mir]abilium suor[um]*, is written opposite lines 121-22, thus seeming to agree with A, which records the rubric *Hoc facite* etc., at this point.²¹ Moreover, upon the hypothesis that the missing text of B was retained by C, we can explain C 167, "Bot or þat I fra þe borde rase"; should we assume the contrary hypothesis this line would be left unrelated to what goes before.²² A word must be said regarding line 132 in C. This line, as it seems to me, must have been composed by the scribe who was using as copy the manuscript from which the leaf was lost, in order to complete the couplet with line 131. It is manifestly not a part of the C addition which follows it.

Beginning with line 379, C has inserted a long passage extending to 453, and comprising chiefly a lament of the Virgin Mary, which is addressed to Mary Magdalene. The scene is at the Cross. The Magdalene's replies are in much the same vein as the Virgin's lamentation. Hermann Thien, in his dissertation, *Ueber die Englischen Marienklagen* (Kiel 1906) has already pointed out that the author of the Charter has used for this passage material from a *Planctus* in the form of a dialogue between the Virgin and St. Bernard, in which the Virgin narrates the sufferings and death of Jesus, and bewails her bereavement. This *Planctus* has been several times printed: by G. Kribel in 1885,²³ by Horstmann in 1892,²⁴ and by W. Fröhlich in 1902.²⁵ Thien,

²⁰ And not, as in MSS. *ABDX*, after line 112, where they were probably moved by the scribe of the source of these MSS. to fit with the preceding couplet, 111-112.

²¹ MS. *F*, of the A-text, shifts the rubric to the point between lines 60 and 61, but this has no significance for the present discussion.

²² Lines 165-66 of C certainly do not furnish a sufficient antecedent for line 167, but rather show a necessarily ineffectual effort of the scribe to connect what he perceived to be unrelated material.

²³ *Eng. Stud.* VIII. 85 ff.

²⁴ *E. E. T. S. Orig. Ser.* 98, Part I. 297-328.

²⁵ *De lamentacione Sancte Marie* (Leipzig 1902).

pp. 83-4, prints such passages from the Planctus and Charter as show the influence of the one upon the other, namely:

PLANCTUS	CHARTER
357, 359	379-80
385, 390	387-88
393-96 ²⁶	389-92 ²⁶
397-400	395-98
419-22	401-04
423-28	405-11
429, 431	413-14

and he calls attention to line 413 ff. of the Charter, which, as he says, "beweisen dass der Dichter des Testaments [i. e. of the Charter] aus der Lamentacio abschrieb, und dass nicht etwa das umgekehrte Verhältniß vorliegt." I quote the lines in question:

- 413 I prayd hyre go were hyre wylles was
 (i. e. the Virgin prayed Magdalene)
 414 for I wold byde & syng alas!
 415 I prayd þam go weder þai wolde,
 ffor a song of murnyng syng I sulde.
 Scho sette hyre down be syde þe rode,
 & lokyd o-pon hyre bloddy fode:
 & als scho stode & lokyd me on,
 420 Scho saw my lyfe was nere gon.

²⁶ I quote this pair of parallels by way of illustration:

	PLANCTUS.	CHARTER.	
393	Maudeleyn seide: 'I con no red, Care haþ smiten myn herte sore; I stonde, I seo my lord neih ded,	Magdalan sayd: 'I can no noþer rede, I knele & se my lorde nere dede; ffull grete soro has smytyn my harte, And ȝit me rewes þi payn[els] smarte.'	389
396	And þi wepyng greueþ me more.'		392

Alas, alas! gan sho syng;
 422 fful fast hyre handis gan scho wryng.

“Diese Verse haben Sinn nur im Munde der Maria, die sie in der Lamentacio auch spricht; der Dichter hat nach Uebernahme der Mkl. Aus Z [i. e. the Planctus] einen Augenblick vergessen, dass nach der Anlage seines Stückes Jesus erzählt und nun fortfahren müsste.” Thien is undoubtedly right; cf. lines 417 ff., especially *me* in 419, which of course means Christ.²⁷

For the remainder of the Virgin's lament, as it is contained in the Charter, lines 424-34, Thien says that he knows no source. It is quite possible that C himself may be the author of this, and of the conventional description of the effect of the Virgin's grief upon her, which occupies the lines immediately following.²⁸

²⁷ Other correspondences between this Planctus and the Charter have already been pointed out in connection with the B version as well as with C, p. lxxxii, note.

²⁸ Attention should be called to the misplacement in C of lines 523-556 (= B 217-250). The passage covers the description of the seals of the Charter, and in A and B it follows immediately upon the words of the Deed as read by Christ. In C, however, it occurs directly after the mention of Easter—hence, after the descent into hell and the Resurrection:

521 þe fest was of ioy & blyse
 Pasche-day called it ese
 þe seles þat þe charter es seled with
 524 þai ware made at a smythe; etc.

At first I thought the passage must have been on a loose page in C's original, which had somehow slipped in at the wrong place. But, though this *may* be the explanation, the lines immediately following appear to have been altered from what they were in B in order to unite with it closely, thus making the shifting seem intentional:

C 557 þis charter þus celyd lewe I wyll þe
 ware by þu sall ay sekyr be
 My precious body, of the preste hande

which compare with the corresponding lines in B (353-55):

one indenture y left to the,
 where-of þu shalt euer syker be
 In prestys handes my fleshe & blode

If C purposely shifted the position of the description of the sealing, he lost rather than gained, since the proper place for it was after the reading of the Deed, more especially as the Deed was not sealed after the Resurrection but on the Cross:

- B 217 Thes selys that it is selyd *with* [= C 523, etc.]
 they were made alle at a Smyth
 of gold ne Siluer were thei noght
 of Stile and yren were thei wroght
 with a spere of Stile myn hert was stonge
 222 thurf my syde & thurf my lunge

 225 *with* yren nayles they smyten me
 thurghe fete & handes on þe rode-tre
 The selyng-wax was dere y-boght
 228 at myn herte-rote it was sought, etc. MS. X.

V

VERACITY AND INTER-RELATIONS OF MANUSCRIPTS OF THE *LONG CHARTER*

§ 1. THE A-TEXT

A study of the most important variations in the manuscript readings of Version A leads to the following conclusions:

I. That *G* is the best manuscript, having preserved more of the readings of the common original than any other of the extant manuscripts.

II. That there are, in A, two main groups, namely, *G* and *IKFVHJL*, the latter of which is subdivided into *IK* and *FVHJL*, and *FVHJL* again into *FV* and *HJL*.

III. That none of these manuscripts can be shown to be a direct copy of another without the intervention of other copies.

Slight variations in readings have not been considered in the present investigation, since the possibility of chance correspondence in minor details makes it unsafe to base conclusions upon them. Evidence of the veracity of the various manuscripts, considered with reference to the text of the common original, and evidence of manuscript inter-relations, must alike be derived from the presence, in certain manuscripts, of readings which we can ascertain to be spurious. The following lines afford evidence of this character, the decisive lines, containing clear errors, being distinguished by an asterisk from the corroboratory lines, which contain probable errors: 17*, 22*, 79*, 122*, 147*, 149*, 218*, and 12, 57, 76, 83, 84, 90, 206.

We shall take up the decisive readings first in order.

*Line 17**: Correct, *GIK*. Spurious, *FVHJL*. Here the

readings in *FVHJL* make no sense. The reference is not to Christ *and man*, but to Christ alone.

*Line 22**: Correct, *GFVIK*. Spurious, *HJL*. As in line 17, this reference should not include man, since Christ alone was received by the Virgin.

*Line 79**: Correct, *GFVH* (*JL* lacking).¹ Spurious, *IK*. *Streyned to drye vpon a tre* carries on the figure of parchment introduced at line 51, and contained in line 80, etc. *To dethe* destroys the figure.

*Line 122**: It is necessary, in order to avoid confusion, to postpone the discussion of this line until the subgroups of the manuscripts are ascertained, since the decision made in regard to this reading affects the main groups only. See pp. c ff.

*Line 147**: Correct, *GFVHJ*. Spurious, *IK*. See the context, especially line 149.

*Line 149**: Correct, *GVHJ*. Spurious, *FIK*. The word *fyfþ* refers, of course, to the fifth seal. *Fyrst* is a scribal blunder. Cf. for this line also p. cviii.

*Line 218**: Correct, *HJ*. Spurious, *GFVIK*. The original reading must have been as it is in *HJ*, *white camelyn*, since the reference is evidently to the skin of our Lord's Body. Moreover, three lines down, this *camelyn* is described as being *ypoudred wiþ fyf roses red*, the Five Wounds. Red camelyn scattered over with red roses could hardly have been the picture in the mind of the author. The reading *red camelyn* may possibly have been due to a confusion, in the mind of some scribe, with the scarlet robe which the Jews (according to St. Matthew's Gospel) put upon Christ at the time of the mocking. He may have forgotten for the moment that the figure had reference to Christ's Body. Cf. also for this line pp. xevii f.

Corroboratory Readings.

¹ As the text of MS. *L* comes to an end with line 62, *L* will not in future be accounted for in references to lines after that point.

Line 12: Correct, *GFVHJL*. Spurious, *IK*. *IK* has altered the infinitive construction, which, judging from the context, is evidently intended.

Line 57: Correct, *GFVHJL*. Spurious, *IK*. The word *soper* is more natural in a reference to the institution of the Sacrament than *feste*,² which is later applied to Easter (197, 203). Here, it is probably a scribal alteration.

Line 76: Correct, probably *GFVH* (*J* lacking). Spurious, *IK*. *Tugged and tawed*, as the more archaic reading, is likely to have been in the original. Cf. p. lxxxi.

Lines 83, 84: Correct, *GFVH* (*J* lacking). Spurious, *IK*. The alterations here were evidently introduced by the scribe of *IK*'s source in order to refine the language. Moreover, MSS. *G* and *V* use the word *neb*, which is changed in the other manuscripts to the less archaic *neese* and *face*.

Line 90 Correct, *GK* (*I* unique): *red and* { *wan*;
 wen;

spurious, *FVH* (*J* lacking): *black and* { *wen*
 wan, (*Wan*, however, in *H* and *K* is not correct, as the rhyme shows). The scribes did not understand the meaning of *wen*, which was an unusual word.³ The meaning of *wen* I take to be, *beautiful, good to look at*; and *red and wen* here refers to the illumination of the parchment. *Red* is therefore more appropriate, in this connection, than *black*.

Line 206: Correct, *GFVIK*. Spurious, *HJ*. Note the metre.

Now with regard to the veracity of the manuscripts, it is obvious from the above results that *G* is nearest to the origi-

² Especially as Maundy Thursday is, in Latin, *Coena Domini*.

³ Cf. Bradley-Stratmann: *wēne* [O. E. (*or*)-*wāna*, = Goth. (*us*-) *wēna*; O. N. *vēnn*; O. H. G. (*ur*-) *wāni*] hopeful, beautiful. The only adjective use of this word quoted by B. S. is in the comparative degree; *Syr Gawayne and the Grene Knight* 945: *wēner þen Wenore*. In Morris's Glossary this word is traced from O. N. *væn*, O. Dan. *wæn*, and defined "fairer."

nal text, since it records the correct reading in five of the six decisive lines (I am excluding line 122), and in all the seven corroboratory lines, making together twelve out of thirteen cases.⁴ The other manuscripts follow in this order:

	DECISIVE LINES	CORROBORATORY LINES	TOTAL
<i>V</i>	4	6	10
<i>H</i>	4	5	9
<i>F</i>	3	6	9
<i>J</i> ⁵	3	2	5
<i>K</i>	2	2	4
<i>I</i>	2	1	3
<i>L</i> ⁵	—	2	2

Next, let us consider the inter-relations of the manuscripts of A.

For purposes of convenience I wish first to show that, of the extant manuscripts,

- a) *I* and *K* have an original common to them alone.
- b) *H*, *J*, and *L* have an original common to them alone.

It has been seen that MSS. *I* and *K* agree in the erroneous readings of lines 12, 57, 76, 79*, 83, 84, 147*, against the rest. Other readings which they alone have in common are to be found in lines 1, 15, 28, 30, 45, 49, 73, 100, 121, 124, 135, 158, 162, 163, 193, and 199. Moreover, both manuscripts lack lines 69-72, lines 93-96, and lines 139-40 inclusive. These lines occur in all the others, with the exception of lines 69-72, which are also lacking in MS. *J*. In MS. *J*, however, lines 69-72 are only four in a block of missing text beginning at line 63 and ending with 90; so that there is no significance in the absence of 69-72 from MS. *J*, as far as MSS. *I* and *K* are concerned. Therefore it is clear that MSS. *I* and *K* are derived from an original common to them alone.

⁴ From this information it is clear that *G* would be the best MS. upon which to base a critical text of A.

⁵ Not a full text.

Neither of these manuscripts is a copy of the other. *ms. K* was not derived from *ms. I*, as is proved by lines 79*, 90, 218*, and 231. *ms. I* was not derived from *ms. K*, for in *K* lines 63-66, and lines 201-202, are lacking; but they occur in *I*, as in *G* and the rest.

Mss. *H*, *J*, and *L* have also a common original to which none of our other manuscripts may be traced. This is established by their agreement in the erroneous readings of lines 20, 22*, and 206, in the latter of which *ms. L* is, of course, lacking, since it contains but sixty-two lines of text. *H*, *J*, and *L* agree against the other manuscripts also in the readings of lines 38, and 50; and *H* and *J* in line 218*, where *L* is lacking. Their agreement in this line is of particular interest, since it represents a correction, made by the scribe of their common original, of an error traceable to the original of all the extant manuscripts; cf. p. xcvi. Besides, in mss. *H* and *J* occur two lines immediately after line 230, which are not found in any of the other manuscripts.⁶

Neither *H* nor *J* could have been derived from *L*, which is only sixty-two lines in length. *L* was derived neither from *H* nor from *J*, as *H* lacks lines 34-37, and *J* lacks 29-32 and 55-56 inclusive, all of which are to be found in *L*. *H* was not copied from *J*, as *J* lacks 29-32, 55-56, and 63-90, which occur in *H*; and finally, *J* did not come from *H*, since *H* lacks lines 34-37 inclusive, and lines 210 and 212, which *J* contains. All these omitted lines are to be found in *G* and the other manuscripts, as regular parts of the Charter.

Passing now to the other manuscript relations, we have seen by the analysis of lines (pp. xciii ff.) the mss. *GFVHJ* (*L*) show correct readings against *IK*'s erroneous readings in lines 12, 57, 76, 79*, 83, 84, and 147*. But on examining lines 17* and 90, we find that *FVHJL* in 17* agree in an erroneous reading, while *G* and *IK* are correct, and that in 90 *FVH(JL)* are erroneous and again *G* and *IK* are cor-

⁶ Namely, 230^a-230^b.

rect.⁷ Further, we note that in line 218*, *GFVIK* agree in the erroneous reading, and *HJL* alone are correct. This is more clearly seen if put in the form below:

	CORRECT		INCORRECT
I.	79* <i>GFVH</i> (<i>JL</i> lacking)	against	<i>IK</i>
	147* <i>GFVHJ</i> (<i>L</i>)	"	<i>IK</i>
	12, 57 <i>GFVHJL</i>	"	<i>IK</i>
	76, 83, 84 <i>GFVH</i> (<i>JL</i>)	"	<i>IK</i>

But

	CORRECT		INCORRECT
II.	17* <i>GIK</i>	against	<i>FVHJL</i>
	90 <i>GK</i> (<i>I</i> unique)	"	<i>FVH</i> (<i>JL</i> lacking)

and

	CORRECT		INCORRECT
III.	218* <i>HJ</i> (<i>L</i>)	against	<i>GFVIK</i>

Hence we see, from II., that *FVHJL* may be traced to a common original from which none of the other manuscripts is derived; and from I., II., and III., that ms. *G* contains no erroneous reading found in one group (either *IK* or *FVHJL*) which does not also occur in the other; for its only erroneous reading appears in line 218, under III., where *IK* and two manuscripts of *FVHJL* are also spurious. The fact that *F* and *V* record this error shows that it occurred in the original of the group *FVHJL*, and therefore that the reading of *HJ*(*L*) is a correction on the part of the scribe of their source. Here, then, we have evidence of the existence of an error in the common original of all the extant manuscripts of the A-text.

⁷ Here the scribe of *I* has altered the line so as to give a unique reading, but it does not invalidate the reading of his source, since the correct reading occurs in *K*—i. e. *red* instead of *black*. *Wan* in *K* is incorrect but the error is not significant in this connection.

Hence, up to this point, our evidence points to three main groups: *G*; *IK*; and *FVHJL*, in the last of which *HJL* forms a sub-group, as has already been shown. This evidence, however, is exclusive of what a consideration of the readings of line 122 may afford. But before dealing with the problem of line 122, it will be advisable to settle the relations of mss. *F* and *V* to each other and to their source.

Since *F* and *V* belong to the group *FVHJL*, and since *HJL* forms a sub-group within this group, the question remaining to be answered is, are these manuscripts, *F* and *V*, derived independently of each other from the common source of *FVHJL*, or are they grouped together by readings which assign them to a common source exclusively their own, which takes its origin from the source of *FVHJL*? That these two manuscripts do form a subgroup by themselves, is established by the readings of lines 6,⁸ 25, 68, 69, and 79*. Lines 68, 69, and 79* by themselves would not be agreements of sufficient significance to prove the existence of the subgroup; but line 25 is strong evidence.

This line introduces another phase of the question, in that its readings point to a Northern original for the mss. *F* and *V*. The original rhyme was *ydo-fo* (see mss. *G*, *H*, *K* and *L*. Mss. *I* and *J*, *do-fo*). *F* and *V* have the rhyme $\begin{cases} swa-fa \\ so-fo \end{cases}$ —a change which must have been due to a Northern scribe, presumably the scribe of their source, who evidently made the alteration because *do-fa*, the Northern forms, no longer made even an approximate rhyme. But compare with this the rhyme of 123-4, where *V* retains the Southern rhyme, while *F* has altered the line to obtain the Northern *a* to rhyme with *ma*:

be thred I will no mare do swa
 be ferth dred god whare so þou ga [MS. *F*].

* See for this line also pp. cv ff.

That *V* does not agree with *F* in this variant shows that the variant is by the hand of the scribe of *F*, and is not traceable to their common source. Hence, if the scribe of their source were a Northern man, he must have passed over some Southern forms without attempting to change them into his own dialect; possibly he was not skilful enough to do so. The scribe of *F* himself lets a number of such forms pass unaltered; see lines 49-50; 209-10; 211-12.

Ms. *V* was certainly not derived from ms. *F*, as is clear from the reading of 124, and from 48 (where *F* has altered for the dialect), 209, 210. That ms. *F* did not come from ms. *V* is probable from 15 (where *F* agrees with *G*) and certain from 23. In this last line the manuscripts read:

G — *By* my manhede
FHIKL — *me* my [or *þi*] manhede
V and *J* — *þorw* “ “

What must have happened is, that in the source of *IKFVHJL* the word *me* was substituted for *By* through a misreading, and that mss. *V* and *J* corrected the error, while the other manuscripts continued to copy it.

Let us now consider line 122. The discussion of this line was postponed from page xciv, because the determination of the true reading here is a problem towards the solution of which little could be accomplished until we had ascertained the approximate relations of the manuscripts, and arrived at some conclusion with respect to their relative values as regards the preservation of true readings. Line 121, which forms a couplet with 122, must be considered also, as the question of the rhyme is involved.

A study of the different forms taken by these two lines in the various manuscripts shows that the original reading must have been either that of mss. *I* and *K* or that of ms. *G*:

- I. That oon lef ys shrift of herte
That opere for synne hert smert
[from ms. *K.* *I* has made some
slight changes.]
- II. That on lef is opoⁿ shryft
That oper thin herte to smerte skyft
[from ms. *G.*]

All the other manuscripts are clearly erroneous, since in none of them does the couplet rhyme:

{ O lef is soþfast schrifte
 { þe toþur is for synne herte smerte
 [from MSS. *F*, *V*, and *H*.]

Ms. *J* gives a variant of no importance, due doubtless to its own scribe:

{ þat on it is soþfastly schryfte
{ þat other it is senne haue sorow

Now, it is by an examination of the error in *FVHJ(L)* that we may hope to arrive at the true reading of line 122. For this error is manifestly due to one of two causes: its source was either a manuscript in which the phrase *of her* was gone from line 121 in couplet I. above, leaving:

That oon lef ys shrift
That opere for synne hert smert

or its source was a manuscript in which the word *skyft* was lost from line 122, leaving the following from couplet II:

That on lef is opou shryft
That oþer thin herte to smerte

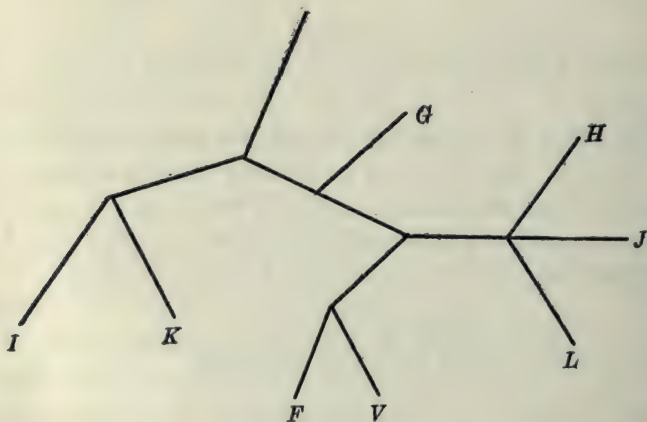
Should the first cause be the true one, ms. *G* would share

⁹ In the original, this may have been *sobfast*, as in *FVHJ(L)*.

the error of *FVHJ(L)*, since it too lacks the phrase *of herte*. The word *opon* in *G*, and *soþfast* in the other manuscripts, would be supplied to eke out the metrically defective line 121. The word *is*, in mss. *FV* and *J*, could presumably be accounted for in the same way. And finally, the scribe of *G*, being, we will suppose, of a more inventive turn of mind than the other scribes, would have attempted to correct the rhyme on his own responsibility, whence

That *oper* thin herte to smerte skyft.

According to this explanation, mss. *IK* alone would have the true reading of line 122, and our manuscripts would fall into two main groups, ms. *G* being now united with *FVHJ(L)* in a common error, as follows:



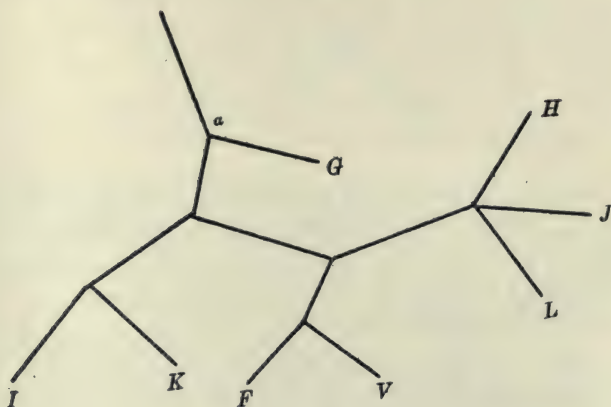
But, assuming the second to be the true explanation, ms. *G* would be the only manuscript preserving a true reading of line 122. We must suppose, then, that *IK* and *FVHJ(L)* have a common error, due to the loss, in their source, of the word *skyft*. In the source of *IK* and *FVHJ(L)*, moreover, the defective line

That *oper* thin herte to smerte

has been altered, for obvious reasons, to

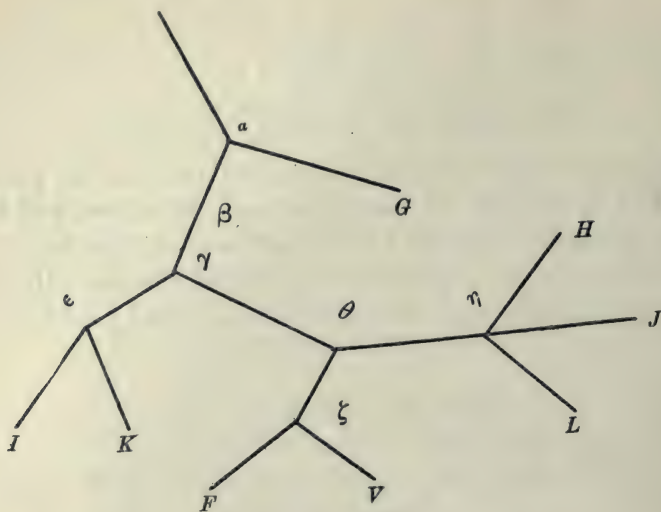
That *opere* (ys) for synne hert smert.

The scribe of the source of *IK* has further added the phrase *of hert* to line 121, in order to correct the rhyme, and has cut out *opon* or *soþfast*; but the scribes of *FVHJ* have left the rhyme false. Our manuscripts would then have the following relations, with two main groups, *G* and *IKFVHJL*:



Now, since *G* is a fifteenth century manuscript, and mss. *F* and *V* are both of the fourteenth century, it follows that, as *G* is derived from *a*, the source of all the extant manuscripts, another manuscript (*β*) must have intervened between *a* and the source of *IKFVHJL*, in which the word *skyft* was lost; because a) *G* contains *skyft* and b) in the source of *IKFVHJL* line 122 was already corrupted, as is proved by the common reading of all these manuscripts.¹⁰

¹⁰ If ms. *G* did not copy directly from *a*, but from an early manuscript derived from *a*, this would not necessarily follow; since it would be possible, though hardly probable, that *a* might have lost the word *skyft* after the copy had been made from which *G* was derived.



At length, after having considered what is involved in assuming either of our couplets to be the reading of the original, I arrived at the conclusion that *IK* is spurious, and that ms. *G* alone records the true reading; because

1) *G* is our best manuscript. Whereas *I* and *K* have frequently been proved spurious in their readings, in no other instance of which we are certain has ms. *G* been found to err from the reading of the common original.

2) It is more reasonable to suppose that the extraordinary line 122 in *G*

That oþer thin herte to smerte skyft¹¹

was written by the hand of the author himself than to suppose that a scribe, at a loss for a suitable rhyme, was the

¹¹ Certainly what the author meant to express here was one of the three parts of a true repentance—Contrition—which theologically, however, should come before *shryft*, the regular order being Contrition, Confession, Satisfaction. It is to be noted that ms. *I* does put Penance second, but this is not significant since *I* does not mention *shryft* at all, but for it substitutes *love of hert*; and since *K* has the same order as *G*, *shryft* first, then *hert smert*, or Contrition.

inventor of it. The word *skyft*, used in this abstract sense, is very rare. Indeed, the nearest approach to it that I have been able to find is in the *Metrical Homilies* (1325), line 61: "Bot Godd that skilfulli can skift, mad them," etc., where *skyft* means *to ordain*.¹²

3) The expression *shryft of hert* in *K* is probably an emendation for the sake of the rhyme, since it is inaccurate as regards meaning, and can not have been what the author intended to express. This emendation we must trace to the source of *IK*, for the word *shryft* obviously belonged to the original. The scribe of *I*, perceiving the inaptness of *shryft of hert* altered it to *loue of hert*, as has already been pointed out. It must be remarked with reference to the reading in *IK*, that it is much more obvious as an emendation than that of *G*, and would naturally occur to a scribe confronted with the false rhyme *shryft-smert*.

4) To assume that *IK* has preserved the correct reading is also to assume that our author was so clumsy as to use the word *hert* both in 121 and 122, which produces an unpleasant effect in reading the couplet. This is not in accord with his style in the rest of the poem.

5) No objection can be taken either to the metre or to the rhyme of *G* 122. Indeed, metrically, *G* 122 is a better line than *K* 122 or 122 in any of the other manuscripts. As to the rhyme, *skyft*, as in ms. *G*, is probably a syncopated form of the present indicative, 3rd person singular,¹³ having as its subject *that oþer*.

Certain lines offering special difficulties must now be considered separately. The first of these is line 6. Here we have what at first sight would seem evidence of contamination.

¹² For this word see the Glossary. Its ordinary meaning is: to change, move away, assign, divide, in the concrete.

¹³ Cf., for example, syncopated forms of verbs in *t*, *d*, *s*, occurring in the *Troilus*, Kittredge's *Observations of the Language of Chaucer's Troilus* (*Chaucer Society*, second ser. xxviii.) 220-1, § 95, as *blent*, *sent*, *last*, *lyst*, *put*, etc.

Ms. *G* reads with *HJL*:

With treson and wythoute gylt

Ms. *I*:

Wyth treson & also with gylt

Ms. *K* nearly the same:

Wip trosoun and wip þi gylt

Ms. *F*:

With tresone & with þine awen gylt

Ms. *V*:

With resoun and wip þin oun gylt.

But this situation can be explained without the necessity of assuming contamination.

Manifestly, *G* and *HJL* are wrong as they stand, since the second half of the line flatly contradicts the first. The other readings are all possible, so far as sense goes. The readings of *F*, *I*, and *K* would mean that man's expulsion from Paradise was because of treachery towards God, and was due to his own fault; of *V*, that man was driven out with good reason and by his own fault. But if we assume the readings of any of these manuscripts to be correct, how can we account for the reading of *HJL*? Certainly contamination would not explain it, since the meaning of the line is spoiled instead of improved by the supposed alteration. The only possible explanation is that the scribe of the source of *HJL* was copying exactly what he found. In that case, the error must be traced back to *a*, the source of all the extant manuscripts. The original reading was undoubtedly not *tresoun* but *resoun*, and the line ran:

With resoun and wythoute gylt

i. e., that man was driven from Paradise for good reason and without injustice. The scribe of *a*, or of some manuscript

perhaps even farther back, prefixed a *t* to the word *resoun*, very likely because the *t* of *w^t* was near enough to confuse him. Hence ms. *G*'s reading. The mistake was retained in β and γ and again in θ . The scribes of ϵ and ζ , however, emended the texts they found, since the reading puzzled them, as well it might. This would also explain the variant in *V*.

The readings of line 19 should be noted. All the manuscripts but *G*, read *forty weeks and forty days* in referring to the period of time between the conception of Christ and His birth. Ms. *G* reads forty weeks *saue V. days*. I am inclined to think that *G* is correct, and that the other manuscripts record a corruption traceable to γ or to β . If we imagine "saue" written "s aue," with the *s* rather far from the other letters and pretty close to the preceding word (which ends in *s*), we can see how the scribe could have omitted to connect it with *saue*. The final *e* may very easily have looked like *d*. In some manuscripts it is impossible to tell the difference between *e* and *d* except from the context. Next, there is the figure *V.*, or the word *fiue* (or *fyfe*, or *fyue*, or *fife*). The word may have been blurred all but the initial *f*, whence the scribe was left to conjecture as to the original. In that case, he may have written *forty* for the sake of the sound effect it would produce with the first *forty*; or simply as a guess, without thinking of the meaning he was conveying. I see no other explanation for this line.¹⁴

¹⁴In the *Charter of the Abbey of the Holy Ghost* (of ms. Laud 210, printed by Horstmann, *Richard Rolle* I. 352) the period between the conception of Christ and His birth is reckoned as *nyne and pritty wekes & a day*, or 274 days. *Piers the Plowman* B xvi. 100, gives *fourty wokes*. St. Augustine, *De Trinitate* Lib. iv. Cap. v. [Migne, *Pat. Lat.* XLII. col. 894], records it as 276 days: "Dixerunt enim: 'Quadraginta et sex annis ædificatum est templum' [St. John II. 19]. Et quadragies sexies seni, fiunt ducenti septuaginta sex. Qui numerus dierum complet novem menses et sex dies, qui tanquam decem menses parientibus feminis imputantur: non quia omnes ad sextum diem post nonum mensem

The next problem is that presented by the various readings of lines 29 to 37 inclusive. In 29, the pronoun *he* can be either singular or plural. We should expect a plural pronoun throughout, referring to *Belsebub* and *Satanas* in 27, as consistently in ms. V. *G*, *F*, and *L*, however, take the word *he* as singular, to judge from what follows, and continue to do so throughout, doubtless having Satan alone in mind, since two devils tempting Christ are not Scriptural. Ms. *I* leaves one in doubt; *he* is used in some lines, *pei* in others, but the possessives are all plural. *H*, *J*, and *K* vary; *H* begins with the plural, and changes to the singular with line 31. *J* does the same, changing however, at 35 to the singular. *K* is plural up to 33, when it too changes to the singular form. On the whole, there seems to me no safe way of grouping the manuscripts according to the singular and plural readings of these lines. There is too much that might easily confuse a scribe; the possibility of taking *he* in either way, and the danger of forgetting that two fiends are involved where but one would be expected.

Another case of the same nature is to be found in the readings of line 149. *Fyfþ* is certainly the true reading. The variant *fyrst* of mss. *F*, *I*, and *K*, I believe to be a natural error of the scribes of *F* and of the source of *IK*, who doubtless misread the word because they expected that after the enumeration *Father and Son, God and Man*, each seal would be more fully described, beginning with the first.

Finally, there are certain agreements in the readings of manuscripts not grouped together, which may be attributed either to chance coincidence or to cross influence. I should attribute to chance coincidence the following:

perveniant, sed quia ipsa perfectio corporis Domini tot diebus ad partum perducta comperitur, sicut a majoribus traditum suscipiens Ecclesiæ custodit auctoritas. Octavo enim calendas aprilis conceptus creditur, quo et passus Natus autem traditur octavo calendas Januarias."

K with *L* in line 4.

H “ *IK* in line 154.

H “ *K* in line 172.

F “ *K* in line 204.

I “ *HJ* in line 231.

172 and 231, especially, are slips that might very naturally be made by two scribes on account of association of ideas. *Tears* and *to weep* are more closely allied than *tears* and *to lete*; *paying* and *debts*, more allied than *payings* and *rent*.

Two other cases I do not feel sure of, namely, *J* and *IK* in lines 35 and 232. In 35, *J* may have altered *maistroye* to *envye* to rhyme with *destrye*, though it would seem as though he must have known of the form *maistrye*. Possibly he changed *cleyme* to *challenge* in 232 to get a dissyllable. On the whole, I am inclined to believe that *J* and *IK* show merely chance agreement in these lines, since they do not agree in other readings where chance could not be the explanation.

§ 2. THE B-TEXT

The veracity of the manuscripts of Version B is to be determined both by a comparison of their readings with the corresponding readings in Version A, and by such means as we have already made use of in the analysis of the manuscripts of A. The inter-relations of the manuscripts, however, present a much more complicated problem than we have had to deal with in the case of A, since here it is necessary to reckon with certain agreements in readings that seem at first sight to be due to contamination of manuscripts, but which appear, upon further analysis, to be due to other causes. We shall begin with the test for veracity.

With the aid of the A-text, and in other ways when that source of information failed, I have found that in the following lines we can attain either an absolute or a reasonable

certainty as to the reading of the archetype of the various manuscripts of the B-text: 42^a-42^b*, 44*, 74*, 101*, 151-2*, 167-8*, 170*, 172*, 194*, 196*, 200*, 210*, 214*, 227*, 377*; and 121, 171, 186, 241. A comparison with readings in the A-text enables us to determine, in all but one of these lines, 101*, the original reading of B. Line 101 will be considered last:

42^a-42^b*: = A-text 17-18. Correct, mss. *C*, *E*, and *A*, which preserve these lines. They are dropped by mss. *B* and *X*.¹⁵

44*, 74*, 172*
194*, 196* } : In all these lines the reading of A is preserved in mss. *C* and *E* only; though in 194* the correspondence with A is not exact, the reading of *C* and *E* is nearer to A than are the readings of the other manuscripts.

151-2*: = A-text 75-76, preserved most nearly in *A*, *B*, *D*, and *X*. Lost in *C* and *E*.

167-8*: = A-text 89-90. Correct, *C* and *E*, which preserve the rhyme word of the A-text.

170*: = A-text 92, preserved in *C* and *E*. *A*, *B*, *D*, and *X* insert *here*, and *D* and *X* introduce "I" in addition, which is also in *C* and *E*.

200*: = A-text 118, preserved most nearly in *C*. *A*, *B*, *D*, and *X* add *else*. *E* is spurious.

210*: = A-text 128. The rhyme word of Version A is preserved in mss. *A*, *B*, *D*, and *X*. Spurious, *C*¹⁶ and *E*, though these do not agree.

214*: = A-text 132. *C* is nearest to Version A in this line.

¹⁵ Since the text of ms. *D* does not begin before line 69, *D* will not be mentioned in the discussion of lines earlier than this point. In the same way, mss. *C* and *E* will not be mentioned under lines in which they are lacking. *C* stops with line 248, and *E* frequently drops couplets and passages throughout the entire poem.

¹⁶ Ms. *C* has *I sende*, rhyming with *be-hynde*.

227*:= A-text 143. Correct, *C*, *E*, *D*, and *X*. Spurious, *A*, *B*.

377*:= A-text 219, preserved in *R*, and imperfectly in *E*, *B*, and *D* (though *B* and *D* do not agree with *E*). Cf. p. cxv, for discussion of these readings. Spurious, *A* and *X*.

Minor Lines.

121:= A-text 61, preserved in *C*. *A*, *B*, *D*, and *X*, insert *only*.

171:= A-text 93. Here ms. *G*'s reading is preserved in *C*, *E*, and *X*. Spurious, *A* and *B*. Ms. *D* is a combination of the readings of *C* and *E* and *A* and *B*. Cf. p. cxviii. None of the other manuscripts of Version A agree with readings of Version B.

186:= A-text 106, preserved (with slight variation) in *C* and *E* only.

241:= A-text 155, preserved most closely in *A*, *B*, and *D*.

101*:= the word *self* in mss. *C*, *E*, and *B*, is the correct reading. *Soul*, in *A*, *D*, and *X*, is manifestly incorrect from the context.

Summing up results, we find that out of a total of sixteen major and four minor readings,

	TRUE MAJOR READINGS	TRUE MINOR READINGS	TOTAL
Ms. <i>C</i> has	12	3	15
Ms. <i>E</i> has	11	2	13
Ms. <i>D</i> has	4	1	5
Ms. <i>B</i> has	4	1	5
Ms. <i>A</i> has	3	1	4
Ms. <i>X</i> has	3	1	4

Ms. *C* is, therefore, our best manuscript as far as it goes, which unfortunately is only to line 248. It is not remarkably well written; there are lines omitted, evidently by accident, here and there, as 16, 78, 110; and there are besides

some very bungling lines, as 9, 116, 152, 238. It needs to be corrected frequently by the aid of the other manuscripts. Ms. *E* is written with a very free hand. Consequently, in spite of its high rank in the list above, it is not to be depended upon for readings that cannot be tested by Version A or supported by ms. *C* or by mss. *A*, *B*, *D* or *X*. Moreover, *E* frequently drops couplets, and sometimes longer passages. The manuscripts, *C* and *E* together, are nevertheless very valuable for constructing a critical text of Version B. Where they agree, they are almost invariably correct; and where they disagree, the preference should, generally speaking, be given to the version which is supported by the other manuscripts.

Let us now examine the manuscript relations of the B-text. In proportion to the length of the B version, there are fewer important variations among the manuscripts than in the A-text, if we except the unique readings of ms. *E*. I hope to show that B contains three groups, the first two being represented each by a single manuscript, *C* and *E* respectively, to the latter of which Version C is particularly related, as will be explained in § 4. The third group comprises mss. *A*, *B*, *D*, and *X*. The difficulties presented by the readings of this group, together with the results I have reached, will be set forth in the succeeding paragraphs.

From the analysis of lines above, it is evident that *A*, *B*, *D*, and *X* are differentiated from mss. *C* and *E* by the spurious readings of lines 44*, 74*, 167*, 170*, 172*, 194* (*A* is unique here), 196*, 200*, 214*, and 377*. Since in mss. *C* and *E* the readings of these lines agree with Version A, the source of *ABDX* is responsible for the changes in the four manuscripts.¹⁷

¹⁷ Other lines in which the readings of *ABDX* vary from those of *C* and *E*, though we can not be certain as to whether they are spurious or correct, are these: 1, 61, 182, 281, and 301 (partially). I have pur-

That *C* and *E* belong to different groups of Version B is probable from the fact that they do not agree in any reading that we can recognize as spurious.¹⁸ Such agreements as these manuscripts show (and they are many) are uniformly in readings which we have ascertained to belong to the common original.

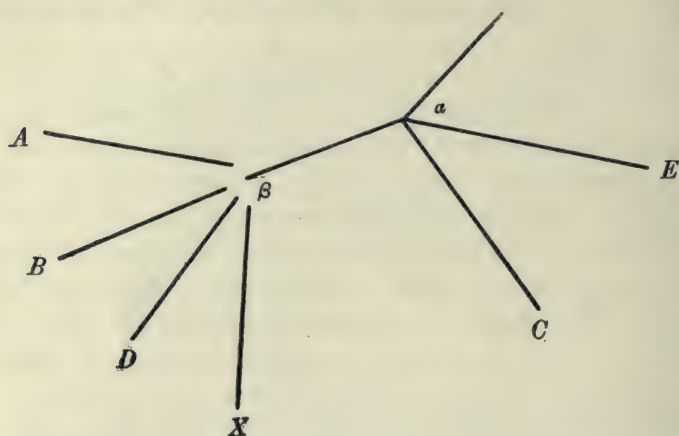
It is evident that *C* was not derived from *E*, for *C* does not share the peculiarities of *E* which unite that manuscript to Version C, nor does it bear marks of the editing for which *E* is so conspicuous, but keeps pretty close to the text, as a comparison of its lines with those of *ABDX* and of Version A will show. Also, while *E* drops many couplets and longer passages at times, *C* gives the whole text as far as line 248, except for a single line accidentally dropped in one or two cases.

posely omitted to mention the readings of 233 and 240. In 233, *fifth* is, of course, the correct reading, but it would have been very easy for any scribe to have written *first*, thinking that each point in the enumeration of the seals just preceding was to be separately dealt with, so that it is not safe to use this line as basis for classification. In 240, since *my* and *py* could have been interchangeable, a scribe might easily have made a mistake here.

¹⁸ The nearest approaches to such agreement are: a) 225, where *E* reads *thre nayles* and *C* *pe nayles*, the other manuscripts having *yren nayles*. But I believe this is explained by a *y* being read *p*, and the stroke over the *e* being omitted in a manuscript between *E* and the source; and in *C*, the likeness to *E* is probably coincidence. The matter is too uncertain to rely on, especially as the three nails were a well known symbol of the Passion. b) 151-2, where, though *C* and *E* are both erroneous (Cf. Version A and *ABDX*), they do not agree in their readings of the lines. Each seems to have altered independently, perhaps because two very similar lines occur a little later, 155-6. c) Both *C* and *E* have but two Latin rubrics (though only one in common) of those which occur at intervals in the A-text; *ABDX* has retained five. *E* has written its rubrics not in the text, but in the margin, and has altered one of them from *Hoc facite in meam commemoracionem to memoriam fecit mirabilium suorum*. The second, *O vos omnes qui transitis per viam*, etc., was so common that the fact of *C* and *E*'s both having retained it proves no relationship between them. It is a frequent theme in the Complaints of Christ.

That *E* was not derived from *C* is plain, since *C* gives but 248 lines of text.

The manuscript relations, as ascertained up to this point, may therefore be represented thus:



Let us now examine the manuscripts of *ABDX* more particularly. In some of the lines of this group it is difficult to distinguish true from spurious readings; but we are enabled to detect many of them by a comparison with the readings of mss. *C* and *E*, and also of ms. *R* of Version *C*, which, as I have said (p. cxii), is closely related to *E*. Since in the following discussion of *ABDX* and its subdivisions, as well as in § 3, I shall frequently have occasion to refer to ms. *R* to corroborate or to disqualify the readings of ms. *E*, I here refer the reader to § 4 where *R* and *E* are shown to be derived from the same manuscript (γ), and proceed now as if this were already established.

AX agree against *B* and *D* in the following readings:

- 1) *20^a.20^{b*}*: These two lines, as has been pointed out, were probably in the original, since both *C* and *ER* record them. *B* contains them, but *A* and *X* omit them.
- 2) *112*: The variants of the manuscripts here suggest

that the reading in ms. *β* was blurred. *AX* read *loke ye hem preche*, *B* and *D* read *I pray you þem preche*; while ms. *C* reads *I bydde þou hem preche*. *E* is very different, and *R* does not give the line. I believe that *C* has the original reading, as there seems no good reason for the variants in *AX* and *B* and *D*.

3) 126: The correct reading here is in *B* and *D*; cf. mss. *C* and *R* (*E* omits the line). *AX* probably represent an attempt to improve the metre.¹⁹

4) 150: The original reading would seem to be that of *B* and *D*, since *C* and *R* both agree with these manuscripts. *AX* altered the line by crossing out *forth*, though the metre is not improved by the emendation.

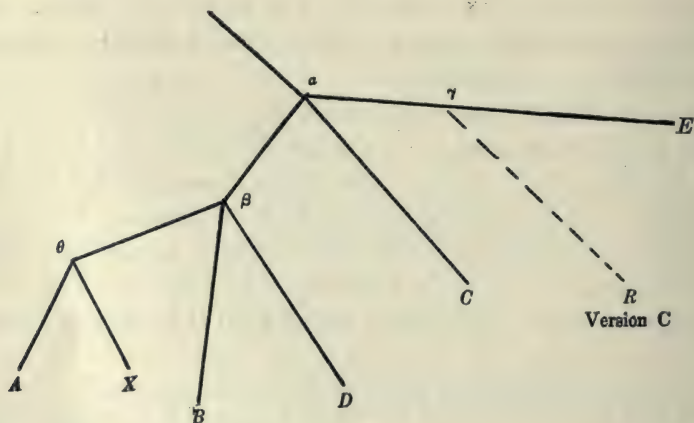
5) 377*: Here all the manuscripts of *ABDX* are in error, cf. Version A, and mss. *E* and *R*. It would seem as though the *w* of *wroȝte* were obscured or lost in *β*. *AX*'s source (which we shall call *θ*) attempted to correct the error with *betought*, whence ms. *X*. The scribe of *A* substituted *towȝte*, and struck out *me*. The scribes of *B* and *D* did not attempt an emendation.

From these cases, it is evident that mss. *A* and *X* agree in the common errors of lines 20^a-20^{b*} (dropped by *AX*), 126, 150, 377*, the last three being lines emended by the source of *AX* from the reading of *β*. Moreover, line 112, while not offering proof of certain error, nevertheless supports the evidence for a subgroup *AX* within *ABDX*. As to the other two manuscripts, *B* and *D*, it is doubtful whether

¹⁹ A word should be said regarding the readings of line 300. *Rest to my head for to make* is the reading of *B*, *D*, and *E*, while *AX* (hence its source) has *whereof to make* in place of *for to make*. At first sight, it would seem as though *AX*'s version were that of the original of the B-text, since the corresponding line 78, in Version A, reads *my testament whereof to make*. But I believe that Version B's original reading was *for to make*, because: a) *E* agrees with *B* and *D* in this reading, and b) *for to make* would be a poor alteration, whereas *whereof to make* might easily suggest itself to the scribe of *AX*'s source from the line preceding.

they were derived separately from β , or from an original common to them alone. The only evidence for the latter supposition would be line 112; but here we are on very doubtful ground, for it would have been natural for B and D separately to have applied the word *pray* to fill the supposed gap in their source. It must be noted that the word order in B and D is the same as that in C ; this is not the case with the word order in AX , which makes the correspondence in these two manuscripts much more significant than that in B and D . On the whole, I am inclined to regard B and D as having no relation except through β .

If my analysis of the manuscripts holds, we may represent the relations of the versions as in the diagram below. For convenience, ms. R (Version C) is included in this plan. I am assuming here that within the group $ABDX$ no manuscript is derived from another. For the proof of this, see p. cxx.



Certain cases of readings which do not accord with this analysis must be examined. These I cite below, with such explanations of the difficulty involved as I am able to offer:

A) The agreement of X with B in a common error.

16: *B* and *X* are in error, reading *that ye may* (or *now*) *know in all your thought*. *C* omits the line. *E*, *R*, and *A* read: *may* (or *most*) *keep*. Here *A* probably emended *know* to *keep* to make better sense.

42^a-42^b*: *B* and *X* have both dropped these lines. *A* retains them. They were in the common original (cf. Version *A* and mss. *C*, *E*, and *R* where the lines have been altered; see p. cx). The fact that they are redundant may have led *B* and *X* independently to omit them.

B) The agreement of *A* and *B* in a common error.

227*: This line offers peculiar complications. Mss. *A* and *B* agree in a common error, but they are not exactly alike. *A* reads *The sesynge wax was dere y-bowyt*, and *B*, *The sesynge was dere y-boght*. The correct reading occurs with unimportant variations in all the other manuscripts, *The selyng wexe was dere a-bought*.²⁰ I would suggest the following explanation: ms. *B* read *The sesyng wax*, ms. *θ* and ms. *A* the same. Ms. *X* corrected the obvious blunder *sesyng* to *selyng*, as did *D*, while *B* emended erroneously by dropping the word *wax*. Such an explanation obviates the necessity of supposing contamination in this line.

C) The agreement of *A*, *B*, *E*, and *R* against *C*, *D*, and *X*.

140: The simplest explanation of the line I believe to be this: the original reading was *And alle myn frendys sone me forsoken*. *C* emended to *And alle myn frendys me sone forsoken*. The source of *E* and *R* (*γ*) emended by dropping *sone* to make the line smoother. *B* retained the original reading, followed by *D*, *θ*, and *X*. *A* and *B*, however, emended in the same way that *γ* did, by omitting *sone*, which is the most obvious thing to do.

D) The agreement of *A*, *B*, and *C* against *E*, (*R*), and *X*.

21: mss. *A*, *B*, and *C* read *without great strife*. *E*, *R*,

²⁰ Ms. *E* reads: *This selynge was dyre y-bowght*, but *R* records the regular version.

and *X* read *withouten strife*. I would suggest here that the older reading may be that of *E*, *R*, and *X*, and that the other manuscripts, independently of each other, inserted *great* for metrical reasons, since unless the word *without* is regarded as having three syllables, the line will not scan.

60: *C*, *A*, and *B* read *for to helpe the was all my thought*; *E* and *X*, *the to helpe* (*E*, *euer was*; *X*, *was al*) *my thoght*. *R* is unique and quite different. Since the correspondence between *E* and *X* is not exact, the readings of these two would seem to be independent emendations for the sake of the metre. Moreover, as there is little likelihood that the line, as it stands in *E* and *X*, would have been altered to the other form, the original reading is probably that of *C*, *A*, and *B*.

E) The three readings *A* and *B*; *C*, *E*, and *X*; and *D*.

171: The correct reading is probably *Ye men that go forth by the way*,²¹ in *C*, *E*, and *X*. *A* and *B* have *here* instead of *forth*, while *D* has *forth here*. The explanation might be that *β*, after having written *forth*, preferred *here*, and set it down right after *forth*, with a faint line through the rejected reading. *θ* and *D* did not see the line and copied both words. *B* did see it and rejected *forth*. *A* and *X* emended the reading of *θ* separately, one choosing *here* and the other *forth*.

F) *E* and *B* against *ADX*.

101*: The correct reading here is obviously that of *C*, *E*, and *B*: *my self*, and not *my soul*. The error *soul* must have appeared in *β*. *B* independently emended the line by restoring *self*.

287: The original reading of this line (see ms. *E*²² and

²¹ See ms. *G*, A-text.

²² It will be obvious that we cannot depend upon ms. *E* here, nor indeed upon any of the mss., for the correct reading of the pronoun. The word *suffered* is the reading with which we are concerned in this line.

the context) was probably *The pains that she suffered were full smert*. Ms. *β* introduced a spurious reading, *The pains that I had*, mistaking the author's meaning, and wishing to use a different expression from that employed just above in line 281. He may have taken line 287 to be merely a repetition of 281. *B* corrected this to *the pains that she suffered*, using the word *suffered* from line 281 again, and not, as I believe, from ms. *E*.

G) The agreement of *E* (*R*) and *A* against *B*, *D*, and *X*.

312: Here ms. *A* reads *thou shalt stand on my right hand*, with ms. *E*, against *thou shalt be soothly on my right hand* of *B*, *D*, and *X*. Ms. *R* does not help us here, as it is quite different: *On my reght hand wend sall he*.

370: The true reading would seem to be that of *E*, *R*, and *A*, which gives the better interpretation to the author's thought. The emendation *will* in *B*, *D*, and *X*, instead of *belief*, was doubtless made for metrical reasons in *β*. *A* may have independently altered this to improve the sense; the change would have been a natural one to make.

It will be observed from this analysis that we have nothing except lines 42^a-42^b and 312, to weaken our general argument for the manuscript divisions. I have suggested an explanation of 42^a-42^b; but it must be acknowledged that one could understand better the omission in *B* and *X* of the following two lines, 43-4, on the ground of redundancy, than of these two. I cannot, however, accept manuscript contamination as the explanation in these cases; for if *B* and *X* are examples of cross influence here, why not in other lines? If the scribe of *X* were using *B*, why did he not emend his plain error in line 101; and why, if the scribe of *B* were using *X*, does his text contain the error of 227? The same may be said regarding the readings of 312. If *A* were influenced by *E* here, why not also in 101 and 227? In the same way, it will be evident from all the lines discussed above as offering

special difficulty, that we cannot detect any case of a manuscript showing consistent contamination by another manuscript. Hence we are forced to conclude that, even in the cases of lines 42^a-42^b and 312, cross influence is not a factor, and that these two must be added to the list of coincident readings.

It is now possible to show that no manuscript of Version B is derived directly from another.

Neither *B* nor *D* was derived from *A* or *X*, as is shown by the lines 20^a-20^b, 31 (for *B*), 377*. Neither *A* nor *X* was derived from *D*, as is obvious from *D*'s lack of lines 1-68. *A* was not derived from *B*, since *B* omits lines 42^a-42^b, which *A* has, and which were in *β*; nor was *X* derived from *B*—see lines 101, and 203 (where *B* has made an emendation and *X* retains the common error of Version B and certain manuscripts of Version A. See p. cxxi for full discussion of this line). Finally, *X* was not derived from *A*, as we see from lines 16, 140, and 203; nor did *A* come from *X*, as is shown by 42^a-42^b and 167.

§3. RELATION OF THE PARENT MANUSCRIPT OF VERSION B TO VERSION A.

It is probable that the source of Version B had its origin either in that A manuscript which was the source of *IK* and *FVHJL*, or in a manuscript derived from it. For by line 44, we see that the B-text does not possess the common error of *HJL* 22; and by 376, that it has not corrected the erroneous reading *red*, which *HJL* has done.²³ Again, in 53, Version B does not contain the error of *FV* 25; and in 42^a it lacks the spurious reading of *FVHJL* 17. Moreover, in 171 it contains the word *forth*, which is dropped by the source

²³ It will be remembered that *HJL* emended to the true reading *white* in this line.

of *FVHJL*, but which belonged to the original line (93) as is shown by ms. *G*. Hence Version B does not derive from any manuscript of *FVHJL*.

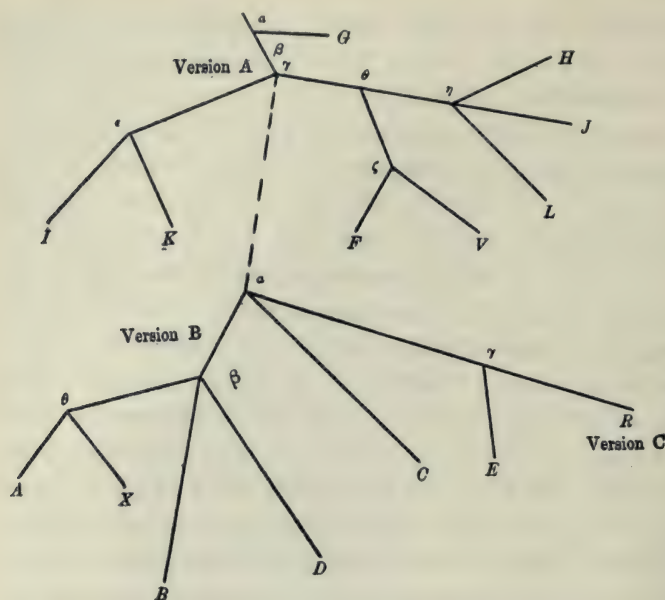
Next, as B shows no agreement with *IK* in its important divergences from the other A manuscripts, namely in lines 28, 30, 45, 49, 57, 73, 76, 83-4, 94, 100, 147, 158, 162, 193 (= B 56, 62, 81, 87, 103, 140, 152, 161-2, 172, 180, 231, 244, 248, 345), it cannot have been derived from that group.

Finally, B 203 does not agree with ms. *G* in the reading of line 122 (where *G* alone has the true reading), but shows the common error of *IKFVHJL*, in that it records the false rhyme of *FVHJL*, *schrift—smert* (*IK* having altered this to *hert—smert*). One point, however, must be noted in this connection. Mss. *A*, *B*, (and *R*,²⁴ of Version C) have emended this line so as to rhyme *hert* and *smert* as was done by *IK*; see *A* and *B* 203-4, and *R* 277-8. *R* in particular has made a much better couplet by putting *smert* in the first line instead of *hert*, and combining *hert* with *soro* in the second line. (See pp. c ff. for comparison with the A-text on this couplet.)²⁵ From the above facts, then, we infer that Version B was not derived from the common source of *G* and the other manuscripts of Version A (*ā*).

Since B is not derived from ms. *G* or its original, or from either one of the subgroups *IK* and *FVHJL*, its source must be a non-extant text which was derived, directly or indirectly according to the foregoing evidence, from the source of the subgroups *IK* and *FVHJL*. This may be represented as follows:

²⁴ See p. cxiv, where my reason is given for citing the readings of *R* before showing its relation to Version B.

²⁵ This line is not evidence of contamination of MSS., since the emended readings in *A*, *B*, and *R* do not agree with each other, nor with those of *IK*.



Certain sporadic common readings of manuscripts of the three groups may be noted. They do not, I believe, show contamination, since there are no other proofs of cross influence between Versions A and B or A and C. They seem to be due merely to coincidence. The most important, perhaps, is the agreement between *E* 168 and *FVH(JL)* 90, in the reading *black* instead of *red*. Other slight agreements are:

<i>E</i> 86	with Version A, <i>F</i> 48
<i>E</i> 290	" " all mss. 182
{ <i>EBD</i> 300	" " <i>J</i> 178
{ Version C, ms. <i>R</i> 458	
Various B mss. 138	" " various mss. 72
Version C, ms. <i>R</i> 352	" " <i>J</i> 182
Version C, ms. <i>R</i> 536	" " <i>J</i> 146
{ Version C, ms. <i>R</i> 523	" " <i>J</i> 135
{ Version B, ms. <i>E</i> 217	

§ 4. RELATION OF VERSION C TO VERSION B.

We shall now consider the relationship of Version C, or ms. Royal 17. C xvii., to the manuscripts of the B-text.

Version C (or ms. *R* as I shall call it here to distinguish it from ms. *C* of Version B), traces its descent from a B manuscript which was closely related to the source of ms. *E*; for *E* and *R* are the only manuscripts containing the following lines:

<i>E</i> 16 ^a -16 ^d	= <i>R</i> 17-20
<i>E</i> 28 ^a -28 ^h	= <i>R</i> 35-38; 41-44
<i>E</i> 152 ^a -152 ^d	= <i>R</i> 209-10; 213-14.

Moreover, *E* and *R* record common errors in

<i>E</i> 151-2*	= <i>R</i> 207-8
<i>E</i> 200*	= <i>R</i> 274
<i>E</i> 210	= <i>R</i> 284
<i>E</i> 212	= <i>R</i> 286 ²⁶
<i>E</i> 217	= <i>R</i> 523

as may be seen by comparing these readings with those of Version A, and with those of the other manuscripts of B. *E* and *R* show coincident readings not distinguishable either as errors or as true readings, but not found in the other manuscripts, in lines:

<i>E</i> 145	= <i>R</i> 187
<i>E</i> 281	= <i>R</i> 357
<i>E</i> 301	= <i>R</i> 459

Slight agreements also exist between *E* and *R*, as in *R* 280 = *E* 206; *R* 584 = *E* 380.

²⁶ This line is proved to be a common error by the agreement of *C* and *AB(D)X* in another reading.

R is an unreliable manuscript, because its scribe, or the scribe of some source of *R*, has in numerous instances dealt very freely with the text. See, for example, lines 24, 30, 45, 46, 89, 90, 108, etc. On the other hand, sometimes *R* will seem to be correct where *E* is apparently incorrect. *R* is a valuable manuscript for the purpose of checking the readings of *E*, particularly in those lines that are lacking in *C*; for (in the last part of the poem) where a reading in *R* agrees with *ABDX*, but not with *E*, we may feel reasonably sure that *R* is correct and *E* is not; and *vice versa*.

R shows one or two coincident readings with *ABDX*, but they are insignificant, the most important being in line 76, where *R* agrees in part with *ABX* 44 against *C* and *E*.²⁷

The following is a list of such interpolations made by Version C in the B-text as we have not yet noted in other connections.

Narrative additions

49-62

85-88

189-90

193-204

219-224

227-234

237-238

253-256

337-348

501-510

Didactic and moral additions

Dealing with Seven Sacraments

291-314

Dealing with the Eucharist

560-64

Dealing with Penance

595-96

²⁷ The others are, *R* 118 with *X* 76; *R* 358 with *A* 282.

The Texts

OF

The Charter of Christ

In printing the texts, no attempt has been made at emendation, except in a few instances, recorded in the footnotes, where scribal errors are unmistakable. Very few marks of punctuation appear in the manuscripts. In some, for example ms. Add. 11307, periods occur at the end, and sometimes in the interior, of the lines; but as these marks do not appear with regularity the editor has ignored them for the sake of consistency. Dots over *y* are also ignored. Capitals, except in two or three cases where they occur in the middle of a word, are retained. Certain apparently meaningless tails after various letters, such as those sometimes after *f* and *t* in mss. Harl. 2346 and Ash. 189, are not represented; nor are strokes crossing *ll* and *h*—except in *Ihc* which is expanded in the usual manner. Other strokes and curls are expanded according to the editor's understanding of the symbols. In mss. Camb. Univ. Ii. 4. 9., Bod. C. 280, and sometimes in Harl. 237, *y* and *p* are written alike: in these cases *p* has been printed when it properly occurs. The Latin rubrics occurring at intervals in the poems are represented in a uniform type in the printed texts, whether illuminated, underlined, or left unmarked in the mss. The numbering of the lines in the *Long Charter* is made, for purposes of convenience, to correspond to the numbering in the E. E. T. S. edition.

3

MANUSCRIPTS

OF

THE SHORT CHARTER

SLOANE 3292.

Fol. 2

Magna Carta de libertatibus Mundi

- a Ihesus Christ his Charter great
 b That bloud & water so did sweat
 c And had his Heart I-wounded sore
 d To saue Mankinde for euermore
 e Christ hath cancelld the writt of Mans dett
 f And by this Charter him free hath sett

Nouerint presentes & futuri

- Wat yee now all that be heere
 and after shall be leif and deere
 That I Ihesus of Nazareth
 for Loue of Man haue suffered death
 5 Uppon the Cross with wounds fyue
 Whilest I was heere on Earth alyue

Dedi et Concessi

I haue geuen and made a graunte
 to all people repentant
 Heauens Bliss without ending

Habendum

- 10 As long as I am Heauens King

Redendo

- 11 Keap I no more for all my smart
 but the true Loue of all thy hart
 and that thou be in Charety
 and Loue thy Neighbour as thyself
 15 this is the Rent thou shalt giue me
 as to the Cheif Lord of the ffee

Warrantizatio

- 17 And if any one shall say now
 that I dyed not for mans prow
 Rather then Man should be forlorn
 20 Yet would I be eft all to-torne

In cuius rei testimonium

- 29 In wittnes of the which thinge
 Myne owne seale there-to I hing
 and for the more sikernes
 the wounde on my syde is

Datum apud Hierusalem

- This was geuen at Calluery
 34 the first¹ day of the great mercy

Hijis testibus

- 21 Wittnes the day that turnd to night
 the Sonn that then withdrew his light
 Wittnes the Earth pat² then did quake
 and stones great pat² in sonder brake
 25 Witnes the Vaile that then did ryue
 and men that rose from dead to lyue
 Witnes my Mother and St John
 28 and other then their many one

R & B³*on strap*

Mr Lambert a Justice of Peace in
 Kent found this on a grauestone in
 an Abby in Kent bearing date A^o
 Dni 1400 a Copie whereof was geuen
 to Mr Humfry Windham of Winse-
 combe in the county of Somerset.

seal
heart within

a circle

Uppon the other si[de o]f the seale
 there was should be a P[e]l[ican] pick-
 ing her bloo[d] for⁴

¹ First written *great*, but corrected by the same hand.² *y* instead of *p*.³ Or D?⁴ The last part is entirely illegible. Cf. p. xx.

STOWE 620.

Magna Carta de libertatibus mundiFol. 11^b-12^a

- e Crist hathe cancelled the writinge of mens dette
 f and by the great charter him free hathe sett
 1 *Sciunt presentes et futuri* Wetys now all that are here
 And after shal be leife and dere
 that y Yesus of nazarethe
 for loue of manne haue suffred deathe
 5 Vppon a crosse with woundes fyue
 Whilst y was manne yn yerthe one lyue
Dedi et concessi
 Y haue gyfen and made a graunt
 to all that askes yt¹ repentant
 hevin blysse without endinge
 10 as longe as y ame there kinge
 kepe y no moore for all my smarte
 but true love manne of thyne harte
 and that thowe be in charite
 and love thy neighbour as y love thee
 15 this is the rent thow shalt gyue me
 as to the cheif lorde of the fee
Warantizabo gyf any mane will saye now
 that y ne haue died for manne his prowre
 rather ther² manne sholde be forlorne
 20 yet wold y eft be all to-torne
Hijis testibus Witnessse the day that toorned to nighte
 and the sonne that withdrew his lighte
 Witnessse the yerthe that then did quake
 and stoones great that in sonder brake
 25 Witnessse the vayle that then did Ryue
 and men that roose from deathe to lyue
 Witnessse my muther and Seint Johne
 and others that were there many one
In cuius rei testimonium
 Jn witnessse of the whiche thyng
 30 Myne owene seale therto J hyng
 and for the more seckernesse
 the wounde of my syde the seale yt is
Data &c. this was yeven at Calvarye
 34 the first daye of great mercye
- cor charte appensum rosei Spreta morte tui solus id
 vice cerne sigilli egit amor

¹Space for another word is left just before this word in the ms.²Should be *than* or *then*.

Matris ut hec pro-		ther vnder nethe in the corner
prio Stirps est sa-	seal	is the olde pointed seale with-
crata cruore Pascis	heart within	in this Charter was sett downe
item proprio Xpc		was a pellicane a pickinge
cruore tue	a circle	Her brest and with bloode
		flowinge Her yonge one in the
		nest with the verses about her

vt pellicanus fit patris sanguine sanus
 sic nos salvati sumus omnes sanguine nati.

Legend on the Seal: De charta redemptionis humane sigillum
 saluatoris domini nostri Iesu christum.

ADD. CHARTER 5960.

Noverint Universi Presentes et futuri

- Weetis all that bee heere
 Or that shall bee leife and deere
 That I Iesus of Nazereth
 ffor mankinde have suffered death
 5 Upon the crosse with woundes five
 Whilest I was man on earth alive
Dedi et concessi
 I have geoven and doe graunt
 To all that aske in faith repentaunt
 Heavens blisse withouten endinge
 10 So longe as I am their King
 Keep I noe more for all my smart
 but the true love of thy hearte
 And that thou bee in charitie
 14 And thy neighbour love as I love thee
Warrantizo

 17 If any man dare to say
 That I did not his debt pay
 Rather then man shall bee forlorne
 20 Yett would I oft bee all to-torne
his testibus
 Witnesse the Earth that then did quake
 And stonys great that in sunder brake
 Witnesse the day that turnd to night
 And the cleere sun that lost his light

- 25 Witnessse the vaile that then did rend
 And graves which their tenantys forth did send
 Witnessse my moder and St Ihon
 And bystanders many a one
In cuius rei testimonium
 ffor furder witnes who list appeale
 30 To my heere vnder-honged seale
 ffor the more stable surenesse
 this wound in my hearte the seale is
Datum
 yeoven at Calvary
 34 The first day of the great mercie
 (*strap and seal*)

CHS IHS

factum est cor meum
 tanquam cera liquesu
 [sic] Psal 22: 13(?)
 [cf. *Vulg.* Psal. 21:
 15]

Sealid & deliuered in ye presence of	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Mary Mother of God} \\ \text{Mary Cleophe} \\ \text{Mary Iacobi} \\ \text{John ye disciple} \end{array} \right\}$	Ita fidem facimus	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Matthew} \\ \text{Marke} \\ \text{Luke} \\ \text{Iohn} \end{array} \right\}$	Notarij publici
-----------------------------------------	---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	----------------------	--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	--------------------

Long[i]nus Centurion

Cor charte appen-
 sum rosei vice
 cerne sigilli spretâ
 morte, tui solus id
 egit amor.

Readings of Harl. 6848 exclusive of differences in capitalization:

1) be 2) shal beleife 3) Nazareth 4) Mankind; suffred 5) cross;
 woundis 6) whilst; upon 7) yeoven; do 8) unto 9) bliss; ending
 10) long 11) no; smarte 12) my; heart 13) *That* omitted; be;
 Charitee. Warrantize. 19) than shal be 20) yet; be 21) Witness
 22) that did 23) Witness; turned 25) Witness 27) Witness 29)
 Witness 30) here underhanged 31) sureness 32) wounde; heart.
 In the attestation, *Mary* is spelled *Marie*; some of the words "Sealed
 and delivered," etc., are missing in the rotograph. CHS appears
 instead of IHS, and the remainder of the writing on the strap is lack-
 ing. *Chartae* appears instead of *Charte*.

ADD. 37049.

Fol. 23*

- Sciant presentes & futuri*
 Wete now al þat ar here
 And after sal be lefe & dere
 þat I Ihesus of nazareth
 ffor luf of man has sufferd deth
 5 Opon þe cross with woundes fyfe
 Whils I was man in erth on lyfe
Dedi & concessi
 I hafe gyfen & made a graunt
 To al þat asks it repentaunt
 Heuen blis with-uten endyng
 10 Als lang as I am þair kyng
 Kepe I no more for al my payne¹ smert
 Bot trew luf man of þi hert
 And at þou be in charite
 And luf þi neghbour as I luf þe
 15 þis is þe rent þou sal gyf me
 As to þe chefe lord of þe fe²
 If any man wil say now
 þat I ne hafe dyed for mans prow
 Rather or man suld be forlorne
 20 þit wald I eft be al to-torne
Hijis testibus
 23 Witnes þe erth þat þan dyd qwake³
 24 And stones gret þat sonder brake
 25 Wittnes þe vayle þat þan did ryfe
 26 And men þat rose fro ded to lyfe
 21 Witnes þe day þat turned to nyght
 22 And þe son þat withdrewe his light
 27 Witnes my moder & sayn Ion
 And oþer þat wer þer many one
In cuius rei testimonium
 In witnes of whilk þinge
 30 My awne seal þerto I hynge
 And for þe more sikirnes
 32 þe wounde in my syde þe seal it is
 a With perchyng sore of my hert
 b With a spere þat was scharpe
Datum
 þis was gyfen at Caluery
 34 þe fyrst day of þe gret mercy &c

¹ A word has been stroked through before *payne*.² MS. *fe* supplied in the margin by the same hand.³ MS. *qwake* written twice, the first occurrence of the word being stroked through.

HARL. 116.

Fol. 97^b

- Sciánt presentes & futuri &c*
 wetys ye now all þat ¹ bene here
 And aftyr shall ben leef & dere
 That I ghesus of Nazareth
 ffior lufe of mane haue sofurde dethe
 5 Vpone the crosse with woundis fife
 Whilis I was man here one lyfe
dedi & concessi &c
 I haue ² yevyne and made a graunt
 To all that askys me repentaunt
 hevene blisse withoute endyng
 10 As long as j am þe ³ Kyng
 Kepe j no more for my smart
 but trulofe man of þi harte
 And that þou be in charite
 And luffe þi neyghbure as j do the
 15 This is the rente þou shalt gyfe me
 As ⁴ to the chefe lord of the fre
 jf any mane woll say now
 þat j ne haue done for mannes prow
 Rathere thane mane shulde be forlorne
 20 ȝit wolde j all ⁵ be efte to-torne

Testibus his &c

- Witnesse the day that turnede to nyght
 Ande the sonne withdrew his lyght
 Witnesse the erth that gane quake
 And stones gret þat sondure brake
 25 Witnesse þe vaile that gane rife
 And mene that rose fro dethe to lyfe
 Witnesse my modyr and saynt Johne
 And other þat wer ther many one
In cuius rei testimonium &c
 In witnesse of the same thinge
 30 Myselfe þerto forsoth j hyng
 And for the more sikernesne
 My herte wounded the sele it is

Data etc

- This was yolvyn ⁶ at caluarie
 34 The firste day of grete mercye

Carta Redempcionis humane ⁷¹ Ms. *yt*.² Final meaningless curl on this word.³ Ms. *y^e*.⁴ Ms. *vs?*⁵ Added above the line.⁶ Or *yowyn*.⁷ The rubrics are in red ink throughout, as well as the colophon.

ADD. 24343.

I H C

Fol. 6^b*Siant*¹ *presentes & futuri &c*

Wittnes now al that bene here
 And eftere schall be leve and dere
 That I ihesus of nazareth
 ffor the loue of mane than tholed deth
 5 Apon the crose with woundes fyve
 Qwan I was yn e[r]th of lyve

Dedi & Concessi

I haue gyue and mad a graunte
 To all that askes now with repentans
 Heuenys blis with-outtyn endynge
 10 Als longe as I ame euer ther kenge
 I aske no more of the for my smertte
 Bot the trew loue mane al of th[i] herte
 And that þou lyve yn charite
 And loue thi newghpure als I do the
 15 This is the rent thu schall geue me
 16 Als for the cheyff lord al of the flee
 a With sore woundis & grevanse
 b Thi loue I bought with scheld & launce
 17 Gyve my mane will sai now
 That I ne died for manes prowre
 Or manes saule schuld be lorne
 20 Ofte I wold be al too-torne

Fol. 7^a*hijz Testibus*

Wittnes the day turned too noghtte
 The sone withdrew his lightte
 Wittnes the erth that gane quake
 And stoīnes grete that gane brake
 25 Wittnes the wale that gane ryve
 And mene that rose frome deth to lyue
 Wittnes my moder & sain[t] Iohn
 And vder that wer ther mony one

*[In cuius rei testimonium]*²

Y[n] Wit[tn]es of the sam[e] thyng
 30 My-selue on crosse al bloody I hyng
 And jitte for [more] s[i]kirnese
 The wound yn my herte the celle it [i]s
D[a]ta

This was gyuyne at Caluerye
 34 The firste day of gret merceye

*Carta Redemcionis Humane*³¹ Thus the ms.² Hardly legible.³ The words, *Min harte life and dere* are scribbled below in a different hand.

CAIUS COLL. CAMB. 230.

Fol. 25^b

- Wyteth now alle þat be here
 & after schal be leef and dere
 þat Ihesus of nazareth
 for loue of man haue suffred dep
 5 Vp-on a cros with woundes fyue
 Whyls i was man in erþe on-lyue
 I haue yeue & maad a graunt
 To alle þat aske it repentaunt
 heuene blis with-oute endyng
 10 As i am þere oonly kyng
 kepe i no more for al my smerte
 But loue me man of al þyn herte
 And þat þou be in charite
 & loue þi neybur as i do þe
 15 þis is þe rente þat þou schalt yeue me
 As to þe cheef loord of lond & se¹
 yif eny man wil sey now
 þat I not deyde for mannys prow
 Rather þanne he schulde be forlorn
 20 Yit i wolde eft be al to-torn
 Witnessyng þe day þat turned to nyht
 & þe sonne þat withdrowh his lyht
 witnessyng þe erþe þat þanne quok
 & stonys harde þat þo brook
 25 witnessyng þe vayle þat þanne dede [ryue]²
 & men þat roos from dep to lyue
 witnessyng my moder and also seynt Ioon
 & opre þat ware þere many oon
 In witnessyng of which þyng
 30 Myn oun sele þerto i hyng
 & for þe more sykernys
 þe wounde in my side þe seel it is
 þis was yeue at caluary
 34 þe firste day of þe greet mercy

*Explicit carta humane redempcio[nis]*²

¹ The words *al of þe see* appear in the margin opposite this line.

² Cut off by edge of folio.

ASHMOLE 61.

Testamentum domini.

- Wyteh wele all þat bene here
 And after schall be leue & dere
 That I Ihesus of nazareth
 ffore lufe of man haue soferd deth
 5 vpon a crosse with wondes fyue
 Whyle I was man off lye
 I haue gyuen & made a grante
 To all þat askys repentante
 heuens blysse withouten endyng
 10 Als longe as I ame þer kyng
 kepe I no more fore all my peynes smerte
 Bot trew lufe of mannys herte
 And þat thou be in charyte
 And loue þi neyþbour as I do the
 15 Thys is þe rente thou schall gyff me
 As to þe cheffe lord of þe fe
 Iff any man cane sey now
 That I ne haue dyȝed fore manys prow
 Raþer than man schuld be fore-lorne
 20 ȝite wold I efte be all to-torne
 Wytnes þe dey þat turnyd to nyȝt
 And þe sone withdrew hys lyȝt
 Wytnes þe erth þat þan dyde quake
 and þe stones þat all to-brake
 25 Wytnes þe vayle þat thane dyd ryue
 And dede men rosse fro deth to lyue
 Wytnes my modere & seynt Iohne
 And oþer þat there were many one
 In wytnes off þat yche thyng
 30 Myne awne sele þerto I hyng

[Seal.]

HARL. 237.

Fol. 100^{ab}

Carta humane redempcionis

Witnes wele al þat bene here &
 And efter sal be leue and dere
 þat I ihesus of Nazaret
 fore luf of mane has sufferde deth

5

I haue gyue and made a grante
 to al þat askes it repentant
 heuyns blis withoutyn endynge

10 als longe as I am þer kynge¹

a (kepe I no more nore oþer thinge)²

Kepe I no more fore al my smerte
 Bod luf man of þin hert
 Bod þat þou be in charite
 and luf þi nyȝtbur as I do þe

15 þis is þe rent þou sal gife me

as to þe chef lord of þe ffe
 If ony man kane say nowe
 þat I ne diede for manys prow
 Raper þan man sulde be forlorne

20 jit walde I eft be al to torne

Witnes þe day þat turne in-to nyȝt
 and þe sone withdraw his lyȝt

Witnes þe erth þat þen gon qwake
 And þe stane þat al to b[rake]

25 Witnes þe vail þat þan gon ryfe

and men þat rais fra ded to lyfe
 Witnes my moder and sent Iohne

And othir þat þer were³ . . .

In testimonyng of þe whilk thinge

30 Mi awne sel her-to I hyne

And fore more sekirnes

þe wonde in my side þe seil it is

þis was gifyn at caluarye

34 dayt þe first⁴ day of þe gret Mercy quod I lang⁵

¹ This line is cancelled, evidently by mistake.

² Extra line. Doubtless the one the scribe meant to cross out instead of the one above it.

³ Incomplete.

⁴ The scribe first wrote *gret* here and cancelled it, putting *first* in above with a caret below.

⁵ See description of this MS. at p. xxvi for the order in which the lines occur.

FAIRFAX.

Fol. 119^a[ADD. 5465] ¹

Be hit knowyn to all that byn here
 and to all that here afftir to me shalbe leffe and dere
 That Jhesus off nazareth
 for thi loue man haue suffired deth
 5 Vppon the crosse with woundis smert
 6 In hed in fete in handis in hart
 a an for I wolde haue thyne herytage agayne
 b Therfor I suffyrd all this payne.

Fol. 120^a

7 A man I haue gevyn and made a graunt
 to the end and thou wilt be repentaunt
 heuyn bliss thyne eritage withoute endyng
 10 as long as I am lord and kyng
 not covetyng mor for all my smert
 but a louyng and a contrite hart
 and that þou be In charite
 loue þi neybourne as I loue the
 15 I loue the this þat I axe of the
 that am the cheffe lord of the fee

Fol. 121^a

Be it knowyn [etc. ut supra]
 If any man will say here agayne
 that I suffird not for the this payne
 Yet man that þou sholdest not be lorne
 20 In the awter I am offerd my fader beforene
 21 witness the day turnyd to nyȝth
 22 witness the sonne that lost his lyȝth
 25 wittness the vale that then did ryve
 26 witness the bodies þat rose from deth to lyve

Fol. 122^a

Be it knowyn [etc. ut supra]
 23 wittness the erthe that did quake
 24 wittness stonys that all to brake
 27 witness mari wittness seynt John
 28 and othir wittness many one
 In to witness of which thyng
 30 my nowne seale ther to I hyng
 and man for the more sykynesse
 The wounde in myn harte þe seale it is
 I gevyn vpon the mownt of caluary
 34 the grete daye of mannys mercy
 Be it knowen to all (etc. ut supra).

¹ Reprint from the text printed by B. Fehr in *Herrig's Archiv*, CVI. 69-70.

ASHMOLE 189.

Fol. 109

Wette ye All that bene here
 And here-Aftre that shal be lefe & dere
 That I Ihesus of Nazareth
 ffor the loue of man haue suffred deth

Fol. 109^b

- 5 A-pone A crosse wyth woundys fyve
 Whyte þat I was in yerth man A-lyve
 That I haue yeve & made A graunte
 To All tho þat wyll Aske it repentaunte
 Heuene blys wythoute yendeynge
- 10 As longe I Am in heuene reynynge
 Kepe I no more for All my smerte
 But tru loue of þe man with All thyne herte
 And þat þou be in full charite
 And loue thy neighbour As I do the
- 15 Thys is the rent þat þou shalt yelde vnto me
 As to þe cheffe lorde of þe fee
 And yf Any mane sey vnto þe now
 That I haue not dyed for manis prow
 Rather þen man shuld be for-lorne
- 20 Yet yeft-sones wold I be All to-torne
 In wittnesse of þe daye þat turned to nyght
 And of the sone þat wythdrewe hys lyght
 In wyttnesse of þe yerth þat þen dyd quake
 And of þe harde stones þat All to-brake
- 25 In wyttnesse of þe viele þat þen dyd reve
 And of men þat rose from deth to lyue
 In wyttnesse of mary my moder & of seynt Iohne
 And of odre þat ther were meny one
 In wyttnesse of the whych thyng

Fol. 110

- 30 Myne owne selfe therto I hyng
 And All-so for þe more sekernesse
 The wounde in my syde þe seale it ys
 Thys was graunted At Caluarye
 The fyrste daye of þe grete mercy
- 35 xiiij M yeres of pardoun
 wyth-out popes twelve
 Eche of them .vj. yeres by themselfe
 Patriarkes Archebysshopys & bysshopys Also
 Mekell pardoun haue graunted therto
- 40 The some of þe indulgence rekene or þou gois
 Is xx^{ti} M. yeres xxx^{ti} yeres & vj days

ST. JOHN'S COLL. CAMB. MS. B. 15.

Fol. 53a

Carta redempcionis

- Wotyth now all that ben here
 And after schal be leue and dere
 That I ihesu of nazareth
 For loue of man hath suffred dede
 5 Vp-on a cros with woundys fíue
 whilis I was man in herthe alyue
 I haue ȝeunyn and made a graunt
 to alle that askyn repentant
 Heuene blis witowtyn endyng
 10 As longe as I am there hire kyng
 Kepe I nomore for alle myn smerte
 But the loue man of thyn herte
 And that thu be in charite
 And loue thi neythburgh¹ as I do the
 15 This is the rente that thow schalt ȝeue me
 as to the scheef lorde of the fee
 yff ther be ony man that can say now
 that I haue not deyd for mannys prow
 rather than man schul ben lorne
 20 ȝit wold I eftt be alle to torn
 wetenesse the day turnyd into the nygh
 and the sunne that lost hise lygh
 wetenesse the erthe that than dede qwake
 and the stonys that al to brake
 25 wetenesse the veyl that dede riue
 and men that roos from deth to lyue
 Wetenesse myn modyr and seynt John
 and other that were ther mony on²
 In the wetenesse of the qwyche thyng
 30 Myne owne sele ther-to I hyng
 And for the more sekernesse
 The wounde in my syde the seel it is
 This was ȝowyn at Caluerye
 34 The fyrste day of the gret mercy

¹ The transcript reads *thincyth burgh*.² Ms. *monyon*.

MANUSCRIPTS
OF
THE LONG CHARTER
A-TEXT

THE LONG CHARTER—A-TEXT

RAWL. POET. 175

ADD. 11307

Ihesus est amor meus

Fol. 94^b

Ihesu kyng of heuen & hell
Man & woman I will þe tell

What luf I haue done to þe
And¹ luke what þou has done for me

- 5 Of all ioi þou was out pilt
With tresone & with þine awen gylt
ffor þou was dryuen o-way
Als a best þat gase onstray
ffra my ryke I com doune
10 To seke þe fra toun to toun
Myne herytage þat es so fre
12 In þi myschef to gyf it þe

Fol. 89

Ihesu kyng of heuene and helle
Man and womman I wole þe
telle

What loue I haue don to þe
And loke what þou hast don for me

- 5 Of alle ioie þou were out pult
With treson and wythoute gult
Pore þou were dryuon a-way
As a best þat goþ on stray
ffro my rych I cam a-doun
10 To seche þe fro toun to toun
Min erytage þat is so fre
12 In þi myschef to ȝeun it þe

BOD. 89

Hic incipit carta Christi

Fol. 45

Ihesu crist of heuene and helle
Man and womman I wolle
ȝow telle
what loue I haue done to
the

looke what loue thou hast don to me

- 5 Off alle Ioyes þou were ouȝt pilt

wiþ trosoun and wiþ þi gilt
Pore thou were dreuen away
As a beest þat goþe astray
ffrom heuene riche I come downne

- 10 To seche þe from towne to towne

My Erytage þat is so free

- 12 In thyn myschieft I ȝeue hit þee

¹ Ms. *Ad.*

THE LONG CHARTER—A-TEXT

HARL. 2346

ADD. BOD. C. 280

Fol. 51

Ihesu kyng of heuene & helle
 Man & womman y wol 3ow telle
 What loue I haue do to þe
 Loke what þu hast do for me
 5 Of alle Ioye þu were out pulte
 With treson and wip-oute gulte
 Pore þu were dryuen a-way
 As a best þat goþ astray
 ffro my riche I cam a-doune
 10 To seche þe fro toun to toun
 Myne heritage þat ys so fre
 12 In þy myschif to 3eue hit þe

Fol. 124

Ihesu kyng of heuene & helle
 Man & woman I 3ow telle
 What loue I haue do for þe
 Loke what þou hauyst do for me
 5 from ioye þey me vt pelte
 Wyth tresoun & wyth-vtyn gelte
 Pore & naked þey drefyn me away
 As a best þat gayt in stray
 ffro my ryche y cam a-doun
 10 To sekyn þe fro toun to toun
 Myn heritage þat is so fre
 12 In þi meschef to 3eun it þe

HARL. 5396

What Chryst hath done for us

Fol. 301

Ihesu cryst of heunyn & helle	7 Pore þou was & dreunyn away
Men & wemen I wyl 3ou telle	As a best þat gos on stray
What loue I haue don to þe	ffro heunyn Kyndom I come doun
Loke what þou hast don to me	10 To seche þe fro toun to town
5 from ¹ all Ioyes þou ware outspylt	Myn herytage ² þat ys so fre
Wyth treson & also with gylt	12 In þy myschyfe I 3yf y hyt þe

¹ Of was first written, then cancelled, and *from* written above it.

² The *a* is written below the line.

RAWL. POET. 175

ADD. 11307

- | | |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>13 When þat gyft I gyf þe sulde
I did als þe law wolde</p> <p>15 Till a mayden I dismetted me
ffor na chalange suld þan be
Wele derely he keped þe & me
Till I my tyme wold se
Fourty wokes & fourty days</p> <p>20 To fullfyll þe ald lawes
þe mayden was trew myld & fre
Scho resayued me for þe
Me my manhede & my grace
þus come sesyng in-to place</p> <p>25 When þe sesyng was done swa
ffull gret envy had þan þi faa
þan belzebub & sathanas
Had gret wonder whi it was
He fanded me with felony</p> <p>30 With pryde couatyse & glotony
Wele he wist I was a mane</p> <p>32 Bot syn in me fand he nane</p> | <p>13 What þat ȝefte I ȝeuon sholde
I dede as þe lawe wolde</p> <p>15 To a mayde I demytted me
ffor no chalange sholde be
Wel dernely sho kepte me
Tyl I my tyme wolde se
ffourty wokes saue V. dawes</p> <p>20 To fulfulle þe olde lawes
þe mayde was trewe mylde & fre
Sho receyued me for þe
By my manhede and my grace
Thus cam sesyng furst in place</p> <p>25 Whan þat sesyng was y-do
Wel gret envye hadde þanne þi fo
Fol. 89^b Tho belsabub and sathanas
Hadde gret wounder whi it was
He fondes me wiþ felonye</p> <p>30 Wiþ pryde coueytise and glotenye
Wel he wiste I was a man</p> <p>32 But synne in me ne fond he nan</p> |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

BOD. 89

- | | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>13 Whanne I þat ȝeft ȝeue scholde
I dede os the lawe wolde</p> <p>15 To a mayden I demede to me
ffor none chalenge scholde be
Wel derwurthly she kept me
Til I my tyme wolde see
ffourty wokes and fourty dayes</p> <p>20 To fulfille the olde lawes
That made was mylde and free
She receyued me for the</p> | <p>Me thi manhode and þi grace
Thus come þis sesynge first in place</p> <p>25 Whanne þat sesynge was I-doo
Wele grete enuy hade thy foo
Belsebub and sathanas
hadde grete ferly whi hit was
Fol. 45^b Thei fonded me wiþ felonye
Wiþ Couetise and glotonye
Wel thei wiste þat I was man</p> <p>32 But synne on me founde þei none</p> |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

HARL. 2346

ADD. BOD. C. 280

13 Whan þat ȝyft I ȝeue þe schulde
I dede as þe lawe wolde
15 To a mayden I ordeyned me
ffor [no] ¹ chalinge shuld be
ff[ul wor]þely she kept me & þe
[Tyl y] my tyme wolde y-se
ffourty wykes & fourty dayes
20 To fulfille þe ryȝt lawes
þe maide was mylde trewe & fre
She rekeued boþe me and the
Me þi manhede and þy grace
þus com þe sesyng ferst a place
25 Whan þis sesyng was y-do
Ful gret envye had þan þy fo
þo belsabub and sathanas
Had gret wonder why hit was

þey fonded me with felonye

Fol. 51^b

30 Wyþ pride couetise and glotenye
Wel he wyst I was a man
32 But synne in me fond he non

13 Wan þat ² I þis ȝyfte ȝeue schulde
I dede ryth as þe laue wolde
15 Til a meydyne I hordayn me
ffor þer schulde no chaleyng be
fful worthely ȝe kepte both þe & me
Till þat I my tym wolde se
XL wockys & XL dawys
20 ffor to full-fyllyn þe rythe lawys
þe maydyn was trwe mylde & fre
Sche reseceuyd both þe & me
þore þi manhot & my grace
þus cam þis sesyn fyrst in place
25 or þan þis sesyn was fully do
ffull grete enuye had þan my foo
Belsebub & satanas
þay had grete wondyr what þat it
was

.
30
.
32

HARL. 5396

13 When I þat ȝyft ȝyf schulde
I dyd as þe lawe wolde
15 A maydyn I demyd to me
ffor no chalange schuld be
ffol der-worthly sche kepyd me
Tyl I my tyme wold se
XL wekys & XL dayes
20 To fulfille þe old lawe
þat mayden was trewe & fre
Sche receyuyd me for þe

Fol. 301^b

ȝyf me þy manhede & þy grace
þus come þat seysyng fyrst in place
25 When þat seysyng was do
ful gret enuy had þy fo
Belsabub & sathanas ³
Had grete ferly why hyt was
þat asseyed me with foly ⁴
30 With couytyse & glotenye
Wyle he wyst I was a man
32 But synne yn me fonde he non ⁴

¹The letters in this word and in those bracketed in the two next lines are blurred.

²Written above the line.

³Ms. *sathammas*.

⁴Opposite this line in the margin is some writing illegible to the editor.

RAWL. POET. 175

ADD. 11307

- | | |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>33 Hard he threted me in his thoght
 þat seseyng suld be dere boght
 35 He sent his sergaunce <i>with</i> mais-
 troy
 With wa & sorow me to destroy
 And¹ wele he fand him gayned
 noght
 Ane other help was in my thoght
 Mare syker þe to make
 40 Ogayne þi fa full of wrake
 Heuen & erth in present
 To mak a charter of feffement
 In slyke a maner bus it be
 þat me bus gyf my lyf for þe
 45 ffor þou ert ded & I am lyfe
 I most dy to gyf þe lyfe
 Many a way haue I to ga
 In hunger & threst & cald all swa
 Thretty wynter & mare þan two
 50 Or my ded war I-do
 Ne myght I fynd na parchemyne
 52 ffor to last <i>with</i>-outen fyne</p> | <p>33 Harde he pratte me in his þouȝt
 That sesyng sholde ben dere a-bouȝt
 35 He sente his seruantes <i>with</i> may-
 strye
 Wiþ wo and serwe me to distrye
 Wel he fond hym geyned noȝt
 Another help was in my þouȝt
 More syker þe to make
 40 Ageyn þi fo ful of wrake
 Heuene and erthe in present
 To make a chartre of feffement
 In such manere byhoueþ to be
 þat I moste ȝyuon my lyf for þe
 45 ffor þou art ded and I am lyf
 I mot die to ȝiue þe lyf
 Many a wey I haue y-go
 In hunger thurst chele and wo
 Thritty wynter and mo þer-to
 50 Or my dede were y-do
 Ne myȝte I fynde no parchemyn
 52 ffor to laston wel and fyn</p> |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

BOD. 89

- | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>33 hard he þrette me in his þought
 That seynge scholde be dere bought
 35 he sente his seriantes wiþ enuye
 wiþ woo and sorow me to destroye
 wele he founde him gayned nought
 another help was in my tought
 More seker the to make
 40 agayn thi foo ful of wrake
 heuene and Erthe in present
 To make a chartre of feffement</p> | <p>In which manere be-houethe to be
 That I moste ȝeue my lyf for the
 45 ffor thou art dede thorough rief
 I moste deye to ȝeue þe lyf
 Many a way I haue I-goo
 In hunger therst chele and woo
 Thratty ȝere and more þanne² too
 50 Or my dede were fully doo
 Ne myght I fynde no parchemyn
 52 ffor to laste wiþ-oute fyn</p> |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

¹ Ms. *Ad* with a final curl. Cf. line 4.² Ms. *þanne*.

HARL. 2346

ADD. BOB. C. 280

- | | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>33 Hard he þretened me in his þouȝt

 35

 Anoper þing was in my þouȝt
 More syker þe to make
 40 Agayn þi fo ful of wrake
 Heuene & erþe in present
 To make a charter of feffement
 In suche maner by-houep to be
 þat I most ȝeue lyf for þe
 45 ffor þu art dede & y am a-lyue
 Y most daye to ȝeue þe lyffe
 Many a way y haue go
 In hunger in þurste chele & wo
 XXX wynter & mo þen two
 50 Or my chartre was y-do
 Ne myȝt þey fynd no parchemyne
 52 ffor to laste wyþ-oute fyne</p> | <p>33 harde þay thretten me in her thought
 þat þis sesyn schul dere by boght
 35 He sent his <i>seruantes</i> wyth enuye
 wyth sorow & wo me for to destreye
 wel ȝe fundyne hym geynede noght
 an-hoper thyng was in my thought
 wel mor sykyr þe to make
 40 agayns þi fo full of wrake
 heuene & herth in present
 To make a charter of feoffament
 In swyche a maner be howit to be
 þat I most ȝeun my lyf for þe
 2d Col. 45 ffor þou art dede & I am lyf
 I most deyn to ȝeun lyf
 harde gatys he hauyt gone
 In hungure & thyrst & many wone
 XXX wynter & mo þan two
 50 or þan þis charter wer fully do
 Cowde ye fyndyne no parchemyn
 52 þat wolde lastyn wyth-vtyn fyn</p> |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

HARL. 5396

- | | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>33 hard þey thret me in þer þoȝt
 þat seysyng schuld be dere boȝt
 35 They send her sergant <i>with</i> enuye
 <i>with</i> wo & sorow me to destroye
 fful wele he gaynyd noȝt
 Another help was yn my þoȝht
 Moore sekyr þe to make
 40 Aȝeyn þy foo so full of wrake
 heuyn & erthe yn¹ present
 To make a chartur of fefment</p> | <p>In syche a maner hyt behouys to be
 þat I must ȝeue my lyfe for þe
 45 ffor þou dyed þugh synne ryfe
 I must dye to ȝyf þe lyfe
 Many a way I haue goo
 [y]n hungyr thyrst colde &
 mekyll woo
 Fol. 302 Thrytty ȝere & more þen two
 50 Or my deth was ydo
 I myght fynde no parchemyne²
 52 ffor to last <i>with</i> out fyn</p> |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

¹ Ms. þn² Ms. parchemyñ, the n having been written over something erased.

RAWL. POET. 175

ADD. 11307

- | | |
|------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|
| 53 Bot als luf bad me do | Fol. 92 But as loue bad me do |
| Myne awen skyn I toke þar-to | Myn owne skyn y ȝaf þer to |
| 55 To gett me frendes I gaf gud mede | 55 To gete me frendes I ȝaf god mede |
| So dose þe pore þat has gret nede | So doþ þe pore þat haþ gret nede |
| On a thursday a sopere I made | Vn a thoresday a soper y made |
| Both frende & fa to make þam glade | Boþe frend and fo to maky glade |
| With mete & drynk to saule fode | Wip mete and drynk to soule fode |
| 60 With haly word my flesch & blode | 60 Wip holy word my flesch and blode |
| <i>Hoc facite in meam commemoracionem</i> | This I made for mankynde |
| þis I made for mankynde | Mi loue-dedis to haue in mynde |
| My luf-dedes to haue in mynde | <i>Hoc facite in meam commemoracionem</i> |
| Or I fra þe bord rase | Or I fro þe bord aras |
| Of my frend betrayd I wase | Of my frend betrayd y was |
| 65 He fand me gangand in þe way | 65 He fond me goyng in þe way |
| Als þe lyon gase to his pray | As þe lyon goþ tyl his pray |
| <i>Susceperunt me sicut leo[paratus ad] pre[dam]</i> | <i>Susceperunt me sicut leo paratus ad predam</i> |
| 67 A kyrtell I had & clathes ma | 67 A kirtel I hadde and cloþes mo |
| And sone I had all for-ga | Ac alle I hadde sone for-go |
| þan had I þis charter wryten | Tho þei haddon þis chartre writon |
| 70 þan was I nakend wele may yhe wyten | Tho was I nakud wel mowe ȝe wyten |
| þai kest lote als wald bi-fall | They caston lot as wolde by-falle |
| 72 Whether ane suld haue all or part-en all | 72 Wheþer on shold hau al or parton alle |

Bod. 89

- | | |
|-----------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|
| But as loue badde me doo | 63 |
| Myn owene skynne I toke þerto | |
| 55 To gete me frendes I ȝaf grete mede | |
| Fol. 46 As dothe the pore þat hath grete nede | 66 |
| On a thursday a feste I made | <i>Susceperunt me sicut leo paratus ad predam</i> |
| ffrende and foo to make glade | 67 A kyrtill I hadde clothes moo |
| wip mete and drinke to sowle foode | 68 alle I hadde sone for-goo |
| 60 wip holy wordes my flesshe and blood | 70 |
| This I made for mankynde | |
| 62 My loue-dedes to haue in mynde | 72 |

HARL. 2346

ADD. BOD. C. 280

53	But as loue bade me to do	53	But as gret loue bad me do
	Myne owne skyn y tok <i>per</i> -to		Myn houene skyne I toke <i>per</i> -to
55	To gete my frendes y ȝaf good mede	55	. . . . .
	So doþ þe pore þat haþ gret nede		. . . . .
	On a þursday a soper y made		vpon a thursday a soper I made
	ffrend & fo to make glade		frend & fo to makyn all glade
	With mete & drinke to soule fode		wyth metys & drynkys sowle fode
60	With holy word my fleish and	60	with holy wordys my flesch & my
	blode		blode
	þis I made for mankynde		all þis I dyde for mankynde
	My loue-dedys to haue in mynde	62	My loue-dedys to haue in mynde
Fol. 52	<i>hoc facite in meam commemora-</i>		. . . . .
	<i>cionem</i>		. . . . .
	Or I fro þe bord a-ros		. . . . .
	Of my frend by-traied y was		. . . . .
65	He fonde me goande in þe way	65	. . . . .
	As þe lyon goþ to his pray		. . . . .
	A curtel I had & clopes mo		. . . . .
	Alle y hadde sone for-go		. . . . .
	þey þat had þis chartre wryten		. . . . .
70	þo was y naked wel mow ȝe wyten	70	. . . . .
	þey casten lot as wold by-falle		. . . . .
	Wheþer on shuld haue or parten		. . . . .
	alle		. . . . .

HARL. 5396

53	But as loue bad me do	63	Or I fro þe borde ras
	Myne owen skyn I toke <i>per</i> to		Of my frend betrayed I was
55	To gete me frendys I ȝaf gret mede	65	They toke me goyng yn þe way
	As doth þe pore þat hath nede		As a lyon gos to hys pray
	On a thersday a feste I made		<i>Susceperunt me sicut leo paratus</i>
	ffrende & foo to make glade		<i>Ad predam</i>
	With mete & drynk to soule fode		A kyrtyl I had & not a cloth mo
60	With holy wordys my flesh & blode ¹	68	All I had sone forgo
	Thys I made for mankynde		. . . . .
	My loue dedys to haue yn mynde	70	. . . . .
	<i>Hoc facite</i> ² <i>in meam commemora-</i>		. . . . .
	<i>cionem</i> ³	72	. . . . .

¹ The o is written below the line.² *Hoc facyte* cancelled, and *Hoc facite* written above.³ *Ms. commenoracionem.*

RAWL. POET. 175

ADD. 11307

- | | | | |
|---------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 73 | frend & fa þat with me meten
In my most nede all me leten | 73 | frend and fo þat with me metton
In my nede alle me for-letton |
| 75 | Till a pyler I was pyght
Tuged & tawed all a nyght
And waschen in myne awen blode
And straytely strened on þe rode | 75 | To a pyler I was plyȝt
I tugged and tawed al a nyȝt
Fol. 92 ^b And waschon in myn ovne blod
And streyte y-streyned vpon þe
rod |
| | Streyned to dry on þe rode tre | | Streyned to drye vp-on a tre |
| 80 | Als parchemyne aw for to be
Here now & yhe sall wyten
How þis charter ¹ was wryten
Opon my neese was made þe ynk
With Iewes spytytyng on me to stynk | 80 | As parchemyn oveth for to be
Hereth now and ȝe shulle weton
Hou þis chartre was y-wryton
Vpon my neb was mad þe enke
Of iewes spotel on me to stynke |
| 85 | þe pennes þat þe lettur was with
wryten
was of skourges þat I was with
smyten | 85 | The pennes þat þe lettres wryton
Weron scories þat I wiȝ was
smyton |
| Fol. 95 | How many lettres þare-on bene
Rede & þou may wyten & sene
ffye thowsand four hundreth fyfty
& ten | | Hou many lettres þer-on ben
Red and þou maist weton and sen
ffive thousand CCCC fifty and ten |
| 90 | woundes on me bath blak & wen
<i>Quinque millia CCCC.^{mo} L. X.</i>
To schew yhow all my luf-dede | 90 | Woundes on me boþe rede and wen
To shew ȝou alle my loue-dede |
| 92 | Mi-self I will þis chartre rede | 92 | Miself I was þe chartre rede |

Bod. 89

- | | | | |
|----|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 73 | frende and foo þat wiȝ me eten
In ³ my nede alle from me ȝeden | | The Iewes fel wiȝ grete swynke
Of my bloode made þei ynke |
| 75 | To a piler I was pight
Tuggyd and drawen alle a nyȝt
and wasshen me myn owen bloode
and strayned me strayet on þe rode
I-strayned to dethe on a tree | 85 | The pennes þat lettres wreten
was schorges þat he was wiȝ smyte
how many lettres þer-on ben
Rede and thou may wete and sene
a þousannd .iiij. c and fyfti and
teen |
| 80 | as parchemyn owiȝe to be
here hit now and ȝe shall wete
how þis Chartre was I-wrette | Fol. 46 ^b | wondes on me bothe rede and wan
To she ȝow alle my dede |
| | | 92 | My self wil this Chartre welle rede |

¹ Ms. *chaster*.² Ms. *Im*.

HARL. 2346

ADD. BOD. C. 280

73	ffrend & fo þat wyþ metten	73	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	In my nede alle me for-leten		.	.	.	.	.	.	.
75	To a pilour y was pyȝt	75	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	I tugged and towed al a nyȝt		.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	And waschen on myn owne		.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	blode		.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	And [str]eyȝt y streyned on þe rode		.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	S[trey]ned to drye on a tre		.	.	.	.	.	.	.
80	As parchemyne ouȝt for to be	80	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	Hyreþ now & ȝe shul wyten		.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	How þis chartre was wryten		.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	Vpon my face was made þe ynke		.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	With Iewes spotel on me to stynke		.	.	.	.	.	.	.
85	þe penne þat þe letteres was with	85	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	wryten		.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	Of scorges þat I was with smyten		.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	How many lettres þer-on bene		.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	Rede and þu myȝt wyte and sene		.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	.V. þousand .iiij c. fyȝfty and ten		.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Fol. 52 ^b	90 Wondes on me boþe blac and	90	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	wan		.	.	.	.	.	.	.

To shewe ȝow al my loue-dede

To scheue ȝow all my loue-dede

92 My-silf y wol þis chartre rede

92 My-self will I þis charter rede

HARL. 5396

73	ffrend & foo þat with me etyn	83	þe Iowys fell with gret swynk
	In my nede for geton ¹		Of my blode þey madyn ynke
Fol. 302 ^b	75 To a peler I was pyȝt	85	þe pennys þat þe lettrys dyd wryte
	Tuggyd & drawyn all a nyȝt		Where skoges with whych þay dyd
	And washyn yn myn owen bloode		me smyt
	And strayste straynyd vp-on þe		How many lettrys þer-on ben
	rode		Rede & ² þu may wyt & sene
	Straynyd I was upon a tre		V m CCCC seuyty & V
80	As pa[r]chemyn owyth to be	90	Wyndys ³ I suffyrð here yn my lyfe
	Hereyt now & ȝe schall wyt		To schewe ȝou my lofe-dede
	How þys charter was I-wryt	92	My-selfe wyl þys charter rede

¹ This line is twice written in the margin, as follows:

a) In my nede for getone

b) Al þei had me for yety[n]

An imperfection in the parchment has destroyed most of the line in the text,

RAWL. POET. 175

- 93 yhe men þat gase bi þis way
 Abydes & lokeþ on me to-day
 95 And redes on þis parchemyne
 If any sorow be lyke to myne
O uos omnes qui transitis per viam
attendite & uidete & cetera
 Standes & here þis charter red,
 Whi I am wounded & all forbled
Sciant presentes & futuri & cetera
 wytt yhe þat bene & sall be-tyde
 100 I ihesu crist with blody syde
 þat was born in bethleem
 And offred in-to Ierusalem
 þe kyng son¹ of heuen oboufe
 With my fader will and lufe
 105 Made a sesyng when I was born
 To þe mankynd þat was forlorn
 With my chartre here present
 I mak now confirmament
 þat I haue graunted & gyfen
 110 To þe mankynd with me to lyfen
 In my rewme of heuen blys
 112 To haue & hald withouten mys

ADD. 11307

- 93 ȝe men þat gon forþ by the weye
 Abideth and lokeþ with ȝoure ye
 95 And redeþ on þis parchemyn
 ȝif eny serwe be lyk to myn
O uos omnes qui transitis per viam
attendite [rad
 Wipstondeþ and hereþ þis chartre
 Whi I am wounded an al for-blad
Sciant presentes & futuri &c
 Witeth ȝe þat ben and shul betyde
 100 I ihesu crist with blody syde
 Fol. 93 That was born in bedlem
 And offred in-to Iherusalem
 þe kynges sone of heuene a-boue
 Wip my fader wille and loue
 105 Made a sesyng whan I was born
 To þe mankynde þat was for-lorn
 Wip my chartre here in present
 I make heron confirmament
 That I haue granted and y-ȝeue
 110 To þe mankynde with me to leue
 In my revme of heuon blisse
 112 To haue & to holden withouten
 mysse

Bod. 89

- 93 102 and Offred into Ierusalem
 The kynges sone of heuene aboute²
 95 wip myn fadre wille and loue
 105 Made a feffynge whanne I was
 borne
O vos omnes qui transitis per viam
attendite & videte etc
 97 wipstonde and here the chartre
 rede
 whi I am wonded and for-blede
Sciant presentes & futuri &c
 wete ȝe þat ben and shall be-tyde
 100 I ihesu wip wondes wyde
 That was born in Bedelem
 110 wip my kynde for to leue
 In my regne of heuene blis
 112 To haue and to holde wip-ouȝt mys

¹ Ms. kyngson² *arowe* cancelled and *about* interlined.

HARL. 2346.

ADD. BOD. C. 280

- 93 Ye men þat goþ by þe way
A bideþ & lokeþ wyþ þoure ey
95 And redeþ on þis parchemyn
Is þer be any sorwe like to myn
*O uos omnes qui transitis per viam
attendite &c*
þet stondeþ & hireþ þis chartre red
Whi I am wonded & al for-bled
- Sciant presentes et futuri &c*
Wyte þe þat ben and shall be-tyde
100 Ihesu crist wyth blody syde
þat was bore in bethleem
And offred in to Ierusalem
þe kinges sone of heuene a-boue
Wyþ my fader wyl and loue
105 Made a sesyng whan y was born
To þe mankinde þat was for-lorn
Wyþ my chartre here present
I make now confirmament
þat I haue graunted & y-þeue
110 To þe mankynde with þe to leue
On my reme of heuene blisse
112 To haue & holde wyþ-oute mysse
- 93 þe man & woman þat goyt be þe way
abidis & loke vp with þowr ey
95 Redyn vpon þis parchemyne
ȝyf any sorow likith to myne
[rede
with-stondyt & hereyt þis charter
how I am for-wondid & all for-
blede
y-wetyd þe þat beth & schul betydyn
100 þat I ihesu crist wyth blody sydyne
þat was borne in bedlem
& offerid vp in to ierusalem
þe kyngys sone heye² a-boue
with my faderys wil & loue
105 I made a sesyn wan I was borne
To þe mankynde þat was forlorne
with my charter her in present
I made to þe a confyrmment
þat I graunte & I þeue
110 To þe mankynd wyth me to leue
In my regne of heuene blys
112 To hauyne & holdyne with-vtyn
mys

HARL. 5396

- 93 102 And offyrd ynto Ierusalem
. The kynges sone of heuyn Aboue
95 With my fader wele by-loue
. 105 Made a fefment whay I was borne
*O uos omnes qui transytis per viam
attendite &c* To mankynde þat was forlorn
With my charter here yn present
97 Stond styлле & here pys chart red
Why I am wovndyd & forbled
S[c]iant presentes & futuri¹ I made here a conferment
Wit þe þat ben & scha betyde þat I haue grauntyd for to gyf
100 I ihesu with wovnnendes wyde With mankynde for to leue
Fol. 303 þat was born yn bedlem In my reme of heuyn blysse
To haue & to holde with-owtyn
mysse

¹ Ms. *futuere*.² Written *he ye*.

RAWL. POET. 175

ADD. 11307

- | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>113 In a condicioun if þou be kynde
And my luf-dedes haue in mynde</p> <p>115 ffre to haue & fre to hald
With all þe purtenaunce to wald
Myne erytage þat es so fre
ffor homage ne for fewte
Na mare will I ask of þe</p> <p>120 Bot a foure leued gryss yheld þou
me
A lefe es soth fast schryft
þe tother es for syn hert smyrt</p> <p>þe thred I will no mare do swa
þe ferth dred god whare so þou ga</p> <p>125 When þir four leues to-gyder er
sett
A trew luf men clepes ett
Of þis rent be noght be-hynd
ffor all þe yhere þou may it fynd
Els may yhe seke it in my wound</p> <p>130 ffor þare may trew luf ay be found
All if yhe fall & gretly mystake</p> <p>132 Mi ded I will neuer forsake</p> | <p>113 In a condicioun if þou be kynde
And my loue-dedes haue in mynde</p> <p>115 ffre to haue and fre to holde
Wiþ al þe purtinaunce to wolde
Min erytage þat is so fre
ffor homage ne for fewte
No more wole I aske of þe</p> <p>But a four leued gras to þelde me
That on lef is opon shryft
That oper thin herte to smerte
skyft¹</p> <p>The tridde I wole namore don so
The ferde drede god euermo</p> <p>125 Whan þuse leues to-gydere ben set
A trewe loue men clepon it
Of this rente be not be-hynde
ffor thor; þe þer þou may it fynde
Or elles seche it in my wounde</p> <p>130 ffor þere may trewe loue ben
founde
Thaw þou be falle and gretly
mystake</p> <p>132 Mi dede wol I not forsake</p> |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

Bod. 89

- | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>113 In condicioun if thou be kynde
And my loue-dedes haue in mynde</p> <p>115 ffree to haue and fre to holde
wiþ alle þe purtenaunce to wolde
Myn Erytage þat is so free
ffor homage ne for feaute
Nomore wolle I aske of the</p> <p>120 A foure leued gresse þilde thou me
Fol. 47 That oon leef is shrift of herte
That opere for synne hert smyrt
The thridde in wille nomore do so</p> | <p>The fourthe drede me euere mor
whanne thise to-gydre sitte</p> <p>A trewe loue men clepyn hit
Off þis be nouȝt be-hynde
ffor thorowe þe þere thou may hit
fynde
Or to seche hit in my wonde</p> <p>130 ffor there may trewe love be founde
if thou be fallen and gretely
mys-take</p> <p>132 My dede wolle I not for-sake</p> |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

¹ An upward curl on the line crossing the *t* of this word is evidently due to an attempt to make at the same time with the last letter the upper mark of a colon. The same attempt may be seen at the end of many lines.

HARL. 2346

ADD. BOD. C. 280

- 113 In a condicioun if þou be kinde 113 In a condicioun þat þou be kynde
And my loue-dedes haue in mynde My loue-dedys þat þou haue in
mynde
- 115 ffre to haue & fre to holde Fol. 124^b ffor to hauyn & for to holdyne
Fol. 53 With al þe purtenaunce to wolde wyth all pertinance for to woldyne
My heritage þat is so fre Myn heritage þat is so fre
ffor homage ne for feute for homage ne for feute
No more wol I aske of þe But no more wil I askyn of þe
- 120 A foure leued gras þu ȝeld to me 120 But a iiij leuede gras þat þou
grante me
pat o leef is soþfast shryft
pat oþer for synne hert smert
þe pryde I wol no more do so
þe ferþe drede god euer mo
[sett
125 When þes foure leues to-gedre ben 125 when þes iiij leues to-gedire be
A trewe loue men clepeþ hit a trwloue þan man clepyt hyt
Of þis rente be noȝt by-hynde þer-for pay þi rent be nawht be-
hyndyne
ffor þour þe ȝere þu may hit fynde for þrow^a þe ȝer þou myth grace
fyndyne [wonde
þan mayst þou wel sen in my
130 ffor þer may trew loue be founde 130 þat þar may trwloue ben I-funde
þou þu falle gretly mystake both þou fall & gretly mystake
132 My dede wol I neuer forsake 132 My loue-dedys sall I neuer forsake

HARL. 5396

- 113 In condicion yf þou be kynde þe forte drede me euyr mo
My loue dedes to haue yn mynde 125 Whan thyse leuys to-gedyr be
knytt
- 115 ffre to haue & ffre to hold
with² all þe appertynantise wolde A trew loue men clepyn hyt
In myne heretage þat ys so fre Of þys rent be not be-hynde
ffor homage ne for fewette ffor þorow þe ȝere þou may hyt
No more wolde I aske of þe fynde
- 120 But a faure³ leuyd gres þou ȝyf me Or ellys take hyt in my wovnde
pat on lef ys loue of hert þer may þe trewe loue be fownde
pat othyr for synne penans smert yf þou be fallyn yn mys-tayle
- Fol. 303^b The thyrd I wyl nomore do so 132 My dede wyl þe not a-vayle

¹ Obscure in MS.² And deleted before with.³ The *u* is written above the line.⁴ MS. *pro*.

RAWL. POET. 175

ADD. 11307

- | | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>133 If þou be amend & mercy craue
pine herytage yhit sall þou haue</p> <p>135 þe seles þat it es seled withe
þai war grauen on a stythe
Of gold ne syluer war þai noght
Of stele & yren war þai wroght
With þe spere of stele my hert þai
strungen</p> <p>140 Thurgh my hert & my longen
Irens¹ nayles thirld me
Thurgh fete & handes to þe tre
þe selyng wax was dere aboght
At my hert rote it was soght</p> <p>145 And tempyrd all with vermelyoune
Of my blode þat ran adoune
<i>ffactum est cor meum tanquam
cera liquescens &c . . .</i>
Fyue seles war sett þare-on
Of fader & son god & man
þe first es for to leue maste</p> <p>150 þat I come of þe haly gaste
In playn power þi state to make</p> <p>152 And coroun of my heued to take</p> | <p>133 jif þou amendy and mercy craue
Thyn erytage shalt þou haue</p> <p>135 The selus þat it was seled wiþ
They weron grauon on a stiþ
Of gold ne seluer ne ben þei noȝt
Of styl and yron þey weron wroȝt
Wiþ spere of stil myn herte þei
stongon</p> <p>140 Thorw myn herte and my longon
Iron nailes thrilledon me
Thorw fet & hand to þe tre
The selyng wax was dere aboutȝt
At myn herte rote it was souȝt</p> <p>145 And tempred al wiþ vermylon
Of my blod þat ran a-doun
<i>ffactum est cor meum tanquam
cera liquescens &c</i>
ffyue seles weron set þeran
Of fader and sone god and man
The fiste þat is to leue most</p> <p>150 That I cam of þe holy gost
In playn power þi stat to make</p> <p>152 A corone on myn hed haue I take</p> |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

BOD. 89

- | | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>133 So þat þou amende and merceye
craue
Thyn Erytage þou shalt haue</p> <p>135 The seles þat I was seled wiþ
Thei were grauen on a stithe
Offgolde and sylvere were þei nouȝt</p> <p>138 But of Iren and stele I-wrought
.</p> <p>140
Iren nayles threlede me [tree Fol. 47^b</p> <p>142 Thorough hand and foot in-to þe</p> <p>143 The Selynge wax dere bought</p> | <p>atte myn herte rote I-soughte</p> <p>145 Tempred wiþ wermyloun
Of my bloode þat run adoune
<i>ffactum est cor meum tanquam²
cera liquescens in medio ventris
mei</i></p> <p>Iren nayles were sete there thanne
On fader and sone god and man
The first þat þou leue moste</p> <p>150 That I come of þe holy gooste
wiþ playn power þy state to make</p> <p>152 a Croune opone heuede I take</p> |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

¹ Thus the MS.² The final letter is blurred by a crease in the manuscript.

HARL. 2346

ADD. BOD. C. 280

- | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>133 If þu amende and mercy craue
 þyn heritage truly shalt þu haue
 135 þe seel þat hit is seled with

 þei weren graued upon a styth
 Of gold ne syluer were þei noȝt
 Of styel & yren þey were wrouȝt
 With spere of stile my hert þey
 stongen
 140 þourȝ myne herte and my longen
 þre nailles þurled me
 þourȝ feet & hondes to þe tre
 þe selyng wexe was dere bouȝt
 Fol. 52 At myn herte rote y-souȝt
 145 And tempred al with vermyloun

 Of my blode þat ran down
 <i>ffactum est cor meum tanquam</i>
 <i>cera liquescens &c</i>
 ffyue seles were y-sett þer-an
 Of fader & sone god & man
 þe fyfþe ys for to loue most
 150 þat I cam of þe holy gost
 In pleyn powere þy state to make
 152 A signe on myn hed y take</p> | <p>133 ȝyf þou þe amende & mercy craue
 þin heritage sall þou haue
 135 þes selys þat þis charter were
 selyde witht
 þai weryne wroght vp-on a styf
 Of gold ne of siluer wer þai nath
 But of stel & heryn þai wroght
 wyth spere of stel I was stongyne

 140 þrow myn hert lyuer & longyne
 heryne neyles þerleden me
 Thorgh fot & handys þer till a tre
 þe selyng wex was dere a-bowth
 144 þrow my hert rot² it sowth
 þat was tempered all wyth wer-
 mylione [adone³
 þat was myn hert blod þat ran

 V sely were set þer vp-one
 of fadyre & sone god & mane
 þe V is to be-leue most
 150 þat he cam of þat holy gost
 In pleyn power for to makyne
 152 a corone of myn hed I takyne</p> |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

HARL. 5396

- | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>133 Tyl þou mede & mercy craue
 Myne herytage þou schalt not haue
 135 þe selys þat I was selyd wyth
 They were grauyn on þe styth¹
 Of gold ne syluyr were þey noȝt
 138 but of yryn & stele wete þey wroȝt

 140
 Yryn naylys thyrlyd me
 142 Thorow hand & fote vnto þe tre
 143 þe selyng wax was dere boȝt</p> | <p>And at my hert rote hyt was soȝt
 145 Tempryd all wyth vermylon
 Of my blode þat ran down
 <i>ffactum est cor meum tan quam</i>
 <i>rera⁴ liquescens &c</i>
 Fol. 304 Iron nayles were set þer than
 On fader & sone god & mane
 þe fyrst þat þou leue most
 150 þat I com of þe holy gost
 Wyth pleyn power þy state to make
 152 A croune upon my hede to take</p> |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

¹ Between v. 135 and v. 136, "Of yryn & stele were þey wroȝt" is cancelled.² Written *r'ot*.³ *a* above the line.⁴ Ms. seems to be *rera*.

RAWL. POET. 175

ADD. 11307

- | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>153 Of thornes in takenyng þat I am kyng
And frely may gyf þe þi thing
155 þis witnes þe Iewes all
On knes to me þai gan doune fall

And lowd cryed on þair skornyng
Hail be þou lord of Iewes kyng
Betwene twa men þis was seled
160 Bath war seke þe tane I heled
Be-twene twa theues on hegh I-pyght
In takenyng þat I was man of myght
þat north & west on hegh hyll
þat I may deme bath gud & ill
<i>Q[uia neque] ab oriente neque ab occidente &c.</i>
165 I thirsty was & full sore swongen
þe berygge most nede be drongen

A luf-drynk I ask of þe
Ayzell & gall þai gaf to me
Fol. 95^b <i>Hijis testibus</i> mathew & Ione
170 Luke & Marke & many one
And namely my moder swete
172 ffor scho left neuer teres to lete</p> | <p>Fol. 95 153 Of thornes in token þat I am kyng
And frely may ȝyuon my þyng
155 This witteness þe iewes alle
On knes to me þey gonne doun falle

And loude cryede in hure scornyng
Heyl be þou lord of Iewes kyng
By-twene to men þis was y-seled
160 Boþe weron syke þat on I helud
By-twene to þefes on hy y-pygt

In token þat I was man of mygt
[hulle
That north and west on wilde
þat I may iugge boþe gode and ylle
<i>Quia neque ab oriente neque ab &c.</i>
165 Aporst I was ful sore y-swonke
þe beuerache moste neþes ben pronke
A loue-drynk I asked of þe
Eysel and galle þou ȝeue me
<i>Hijis testibus</i> Matheus and Iohan
170 Luk Mark and many on
And namely my moder swete
172 ffor she lufte neuer teres lete</p> |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

BOD. 89

- | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>153 Of thornes in tokenyng þat I am kyng
and frely may ȝeue alle þinge
155 This wittenessith Iwis all

On knees to me thei gan falle
and a-lowede crie on hir scornynge
welcome be thou Iwys kyng
Betwene too men I was seled
160 Boþe were seke þe ton heled
Betwene too þeues on highe pight
That I of alle men myght haue a sijt
That Est and west on wilde hille
I may Iuge bothe goode and elle</p> | <p><i>Quia neque ab oriente neque ab occidente &c</i>
165 Of threste I was sore be-swonke
The beuerage moste nede be dronke
A leef drinke I axed of þe
168 Eysell an and galle thei ȝaf me
a This wittenesse þe Iewes alle
b On knees to me þei gan falle¹
and also wittenessith Mathew and Iohn
170 luke marke and many one
and namely my moder swete
172 ffor shé left neuere teres to wepe</p> |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

¹ Repetition of lines 155-6 above.

HARL. 2346

ADD. BOD. C. 280

- 153 Of þornes bi-tokenyng þat I am king
And frely may ȝeue al þing
155 Wytnesse of þe Iewes alle
On knees to me þey gon falle
And loude cried on her scornying
Hail be þu lord & Iewes kyng
By-twyne two men þis was y-seled
160 Boþe were sike þat on y heled
By-twyne two þefes on hye I-pyȝt
In tokne þat I was man of myȝt
þat north & west on hye hulle
þat I may deme boþe good & ylle
Quia neque ab oriente neque ab occi-
dente, &c
165 A þurst I was ful sore y-swonke
þe beuerage most nedes be dronke
A loue drynke I asked of þe
A ysel and galle þey ȝaue to me
Hīs testibus Matheu and Iohn
170 Luk. Mark. and many on
Fol. 54 And namely my moder swete
172 ffor she lefte neuer terys to wepe

- 153 Of thornis in tokynyng þat I kyng
& frely may ȝeue þe my thyng
155 þis wytnessit þe ieuys all
2d Col. vpon her knys þay can doun fall
fful loude þe cridene in her scornynge
heil be þou lorde & ieuys kyng
Betwen two men þis dede was selyde
160 Boþe wer sek þat one was heylyde
Be-twen two ieuys heye pyth
In tokenyng þat I am man of myth
norw & west on heye helle
þat I may demyn boþe goode & ylle
Quia neque ab oriente neque ab occi-
dente, &c
165 a-prost I was & sor swynkyne
þis beuerache most nedys be dronkyne
a loue drynk I askede of þe
heysell & galle þou ȝeue yt me
þis wytnessyt mathe[?] & Ione
170 luk & mark & many one
Namelech my modyr swete
172 for sche left neuer terys to lete

HARL. 5396

- 153 Of thornys yn tokyn þat kyng
And frely may ȝeue all thyng
155 þys wettenes þe ieuys alle
On knes to 'me þey con falle
And lowd cryed yn her scornying
Wilcom be þe Iewys kyng
159 By twene ij theuys I was seld¹
161 Be twene ij theuys on hygh was I pyȝt
160 þe t[other] was seke & I hym helyd¹
162 þat all men on me² myȝt haue syȝt³
þat est & west on wyld hylle
I am Iuge both of god & ylle
Quia neque ab oryente neque ab occi-
dent &c
165 for thyrst I was ful sore byswonke
þe beuerage most nede by dronke
Fol. 304^b A lytyl drynk I askyd of þe
168 Aysyll & galle þou gaf me
a þys wytnesse þe Iewys alle⁴
b On knes to me þy con falle
And also beryng wetnesse mathu & Ioh
170 luke marke & othyr many one
And namely my modur swete
172 ffor sche left neuyr terys to lete

¹ Lines 159 and 160 cancelled in MS.² The following couplet written at the bottom of the page is marked for insertion between lines 162 and 163:

"þe toþer was seke & hym helyd
The toþer in my charter was not selyd."

⁴ See note preceding page.

RAWL. POET. 175

ADD. 11307

- | | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 173 | Ar þis chartre wryten was
ffull oft scho said allas allas | 173 | Or þis chartre wryto was
Wel ofte sho seyde alas alas |
| 175 | So bare I was of wordes gude
When I suld dy on þe rode
pat I had nought wharof to take
Mi testament whare-of to make
Bot of my lefe moder & dere | 175 | So bare I was of wordles god
Whan I sholde deye vpon þe rod
pat I ne hadde wher to take
My testament wherof to make |
| 180 | Scho stode bi me <i>with</i> a sorowfull
chere
When I to my cosyn hir bi-toke
Scho kest me many a sorowful luke
In knowlegyng I made a cry
<i>Pater lamazabathany</i> | Fol. 95 ^b | But of my moder lef and dere |
| 180 | Scho stode bi me <i>with</i> a sorowfull
chere
When I to my cosyn hir bi-toke
Scho kest me many a sorowful luke
In knowlegyng I made a cry
<i>Pater lamazabathany</i> | 180 | Sho stod by me <i>with</i> reuful chere
Whan I my cosyn hure bytok
Sho caste me many a sory lok
In cnowlychyng I made a cry
<i>Pater lamazabatany</i> |
| 185 | Be-hald now men <i>with</i> hert & eghe
ffor yhour luf how I sall degh
<i>Consummatum est</i> þis chartre es
done
Man þou has ouer-comen þi fone
To hell I went þis chartre to schew | 185 | Byhold now man wiþ herte and ye
ffor thy loue how I shal dye
<i>Consummatum</i> þis chartre is don
Man þou hast ouercome þi fon
To helle I wente þis chartre to
shewe |
| 190 | Be-for þi fa sathanas pat schrew
þan he was schent & broght to
ground | 190 | By-fore þi fo sathanas þe shrewe
Tho was he shent and brojt to
grounde |
| 192 | <i>With</i> nayles bored & speres wound | 192 | Wiþ nailles bore and speres wounde |

Bod. 89

- | | | | |
|---------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 173 | Or þis Chartre wreten was
Oft sche saide allas allas | | <i>Pater lamazabatany</i>
Beholde man wiþ hert and eye
ffor þi loue now shall I deye |
| Fol. 48 | So bare I was of worldes goode
Thanne I deyede on þe rode | 187 | <i>Consummatum est</i> this Chartre is
now doone |
| 177 | That ne hadde where-to to take
My testament where-of to take
But my leef moder dere | | Man þou hast ouerecome þi foone
To helle I went this chartre to
shewe |
| 180 | She stoude by me wiþ rufull chiere
whenne I to my Cosyn here tok[e ¹] | 190 | To-for thi foo sathanas þat shrewe
he was shent and broujt to grounde |
| 183 | In knowynge I made a cry | 192 | Thurgh nayles bore and speres
wounde |

¹e is indicated here, but hidden by a fold in the paper.

HARL. 2346

ADD. BOD. C. 280

- 173 Or þis chartre y-writen¹ was
fful ofte she seyde allas allas
- 175 So bare I was of worlych good
When I shuld dey vpon þe rood
- pat I nadde wher-to to take
My testament where-on² to make
But of my leef moder dere
- 180 She stode by me with sorful chere
Whan I my cosyn hir by-toke
She cast on me many a sory loke
- In knowleche y made a cry
Pater lamazabatany
- 185 By-hold now man with herte & ye
ffor [°] loue how I shal dye
Consummatum þis chartre is done
Man þu hast ouer-come þi foon
To helle y wente þis chartre to
shewe
- 190 By-fore sathanas þat olde shrewe
pat he was shent & brouȝt to
grounde
- 192 With nailes bore and speres wonde
- 173 Or þis charter wrytyn was
ful oftyn sche seyd allas allas
- 175 So bar þat was of wordys goode
wan þat I schulde deyn vpon þe
rode
- þat I ne hade werof to takyn
My testament for to makynne
But of my leue modyr dere
- 180 sche stod be me wyth sory chere
Wan þat I my cosyn here be-tok
sche cast vp-on me many rewful
look
- In knouelachyng y mad a cry
Pater lamabazatany
- 185 Be-holde man wyth hert & eye
ffor þi [°] how I schall deye
þis charter is done [foyne
Man þou hast ouer-comyn þin
To helle I went þis charter to
scheuyn
- 190 be-for þi fone satan þe schreue
pat he was cast & broȝt to grunde
- 192 wyth neyls bore & sperys wonde

HARL. 5396

- 173 Or þys charter wretyn was
Oftyn sche seyd allas allas
- 175 So bare I was of worldys gode
þen I dyed upon þe rede
pat þen had noght⁵ wherwith to
take
- My testament where-wyth to make
But of my leve modur dere
- 180 Sche stode bymewith rufull chere
þen I my cosyn hur be-toke
Sche hast up many a sory loke
In swonyng y made a crye
- Pater lamazabathanye*
- 185 But hold man with hert & eye
ffor þy loue now schal I dye
þys charter ys now all don
Man þu hast ouyrecome þy fone
- Fol. 305 To helle I went þis chartre to
schewe
- 190 Before þy fo sathanas þat schrewe
he was schent & broȝt to grovnde
- 192 Thorow naylys bore & sperys
wovnde

¹ Immediately following this in the MS. is a *y* cancelled.² *h* written above the line.⁴ Blank space in MS.³ The word in this space is blurred.⁵ Above the line.

RAWL. POET. 175

ADD. 11307

- | | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>193 A strayt couand made þare was
 Bi-twene me & Sathanas
 195 All my catell to haue o-way
 þat he reft <i>with</i>¹ fals pray
 O-gayne I come & made a feste
 Omang þe mast & þe leste
 A-party men þan gan know me
 200 þat I was man of gret pouste
 þat fest lasted fourty dawes
 To do men know my new lawes
 þat fest was all of ioy & blys
 þat Pasch day yhit called es
 205 Ane endenture I left <i>with</i> þe
 þat euer þou suld syker be
 In prestes handes my flesch & blode
 þat for þe dyed on þe rode
 And my kay I toke all-so
 210 In taken þat I was vndo
 To bere <i>with</i> þe whare so þou go
 212 þan thar þe noght dred þi fo</p> | <p>193 A scrit² of couenaunt I-mad þer
 was
 By-twene me and sathanas
 195 Al my catel to haue away
 That he me rafte <i>with</i> fals fray
 Agayn y com and made a feste
 Among þe leste and þe meste
 Aparty þo men gonne knowe me
 200 That I was man of gret pouste
 That feste lesteþ fourty dawes
 To do men knowe my newe lawes
 That feste was of ioye and blis
 That esterday ȝet y-cleped ys
 205 On endenture I lafte <i>with</i> þe
 That euere þou sholdest syker be
 In prestes hond my flesch and blod
 That for þe dyed vpon þe rod
 A by keþe³ I tok þe also
 210 The tokene þat I was onne y-do
 To bere wiþ þe were so þou go
 212 Thanne þar þe not drede of þi fo</p> |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

Bod. 89

- | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>193 A Chartre of couenauntes made
 was
 Betwene me and sathanas
 195 Alle my cataill to haue a-way
 That he me reft wiþ his fals pray
 aȝein I cam and a feste
 a-monge the meeste and the leste
 Thanne atte þe firste men gan
 know me
 200 That I was man of grete postee

 </p> | <p>That feste was of Ioye and blys
 Fol. 48^b That pasche day cleped is
 205 On endenture I laft wiþ þe
 That euere thou scholdest seke be
 In preestes honde my flesshe and
 blod
 That for þe deyde on þe rode
 a bykeye I toke þe also
 210 The Tokyn þat I was on doo
 To bere wuþ the where thou goo
 212 Thanne dare the nouȝt drede þi foo</p> |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

¹ A second *with* also occurs.² Ms. *Ascrit*.*bykweþe?*—see Glossary.

HARL. 2346

BOD. ADD. C. 280

- | | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>193 A wryt of couenaunt I-made <i>per</i>
was
By-twyne me and sathanas</p> <p>195 Al my catel to haue a-way [pray
pat he me rauesched <i>with fals</i>
A-ȝen y come and made a feste
Among alle boȝe mest and leste</p> <p>Fol. 54^b A-party men ȝo gunne knowe me</p> <p>200 pat I was man of gret pouste
ȝe feste laste fourty dawes
To do men knowe my newe lawes
ȝe feste was al of Ioye and blisse
pat ȝesterday ȝet holden ys</p> <p>205 On endenture y laft <i>with ȝe</i>
pat oueral ȝu shuldest siker be
In prestes hond my flesh & blod</p> <p>pat for ȝe deyed on ȝe rood
A key y toke ȝe al-so</p> <p>210
To bere <i>with ȝe</i> where ȝu go</p> <p>212</p> | <p>193 a scryth of a conenaunt mad <i>per</i>
was
Be-twexyn me & satanas</p> <p>195 alle myn to hauyn a-way
pat he me be-reft wyth fals pray
a-ȝan y come & made a fest
a-monges all men most & lest</p> <p>A-party ȝo men gunyn knoue me</p> <p>200 pat I was man of grete powste
ȝe fest last XL dawys [lawys
To done men knawyn my ryth
ȝe fyrst it is of ioye & blys
pat hesterne day clepyd is</p> <p>205 hon endenture y lefte <i>with ȝe</i>
pat ouer al ȝou schuldys syker be
In prestys hand my flesche & eke
my blode</p> <p>pat for ȝe deyde vp-on pat rod
on bycaye i tok ȝe also</p> <p>210 ȝe rode pat i was vp-on ydo
To beryn wyth ȝe were pat ȝou go</p> <p>212 panne darst ȝou¹ nere dreydyn
ȝi fo</p> |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

HARL. 5396

- | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>193 A charter counant made was
Bytwene me² & sathanas</p> <p>195 All my catel to haue away
pat he me reft <i>with fals pray</i>
A-ȝeyn I come & made a fest
A-mong ȝe most & ȝe lest
ȝen atte furst men knowe con me</p> <p>200 pat I was man of gret powste
pat fest lastyd XL dayes
To do men knowe ȝe newe wes</p> | <p>pat fest was of Ioye & blysse
pat estyr day ȝet clepyd ys</p> <p>205 One endentur I left <i>with ȝe</i>
pat euyr ȝu schalt sekyr be
In prestys hand yn flesch & blode
pat for ȝe dyed o ȝe rode
A bykeye I toke ȝe also</p> <p>210 ȝe cros pat I was on do
To bere <i>with ȝe</i> where-so ȝou go</p> <p>212 ȝen thar ȝe not drede ȝy fo</p> |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

¹ "darst ȝou" is written twice.² "me" repeated.

RAWL. POET. 175

213 To my fader I most gone
 214 ffor all his will I haue done

.

215 A cote armure I bare with me
 ffor þat I toke of þi lyuere
 þe cloth was ryche & wele fyne
 þe chaumpe it was of red camelyne

A wele fair may to me it wroght

220 Out of hir boure I it broght
 Powderd with fyn roses rede
 Woundes þat I tholed in dede
 þat when I come o-gayn to þe

224 þare-by þou myght knowe me

ADD. 11307

213 To my fader I moste gon
 214 ffor al his wille I haue y-don

.

215 A cote armure I bar wiþ me
 ffor þat I tok of þy leuere
 21. The cloþ was ryche and ryȝt fyn
 The chaumpe it was of red
 camelyn

A wel fayre mayde to me it wroȝt

220 Out of hure bour I it brouȝt
 I-poudred with fyue roses rede
 Wiþ woundes þat I deled dede
 Whan I com eft aȝeyn to þe

224 Ther-by myȝt þou knowe me

Bod. 89

213 To my fadour I most goone
 214 ffor alle his wille I haue doon

.

215 a cote armuour I bare wiþ me
 ffor þat I tooke of thy lyuerere
 That chothe was good and fyn [lyn
 The chaumpe was of rede chame-
 A wele faire may hit wrought
 220 and ought of here boure I hit
 brought
 I powdred wiþ fyn rose rede
 woundes þat I tholede dede
 Whanne I come oft agayn to the
 224 Ther-by þou mayst knowe me

HARL. 2346

ADD. BOD. C. 280

- | | |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 213 To my fader I most gon | 213 ffor to my fadir I most go |
| 214 ffor al his wille I haue done | 214 all is wyl I aue do |
| | a on halprost day I vndyre-stand |
| | b y went vp-on my fadyr reth honde |
| | c To deme þe qwyk & eke þe deyð |
| | d al myn to schyldyn fro þe qued |
| | e a witsonday werement |
| | f a-don I sent wyth goode talent |
| | g wit & wysdame to all mankynde |
| | h all men to scheldene fro þe fende |
| 215 A cote Armure y bare with me | 215 a cote armowr I bar with me |
| ffor þat I took of þi lyuere | for þat I tok of þi lyuere |
| þe cloþ was riche & wel fyne | þe cloth was ryche god & fyne |
| þe champe was of white camelyn | þe chomp it was oft whyt came- |
| [wrouȝt | lyne [wroght |
| A wel faire maide to me hit | A wel faire mayden to me it |
| 220 Out of hire boure I hit brouȝt | 220 vt of here boure he me it broght |
| I-poudred with fyue roses rede | It was pouderyde with V rose rede |
| Of wondes þat I þoled dede | þat were þe wondys þat I for man |
| | sufferyd ded |
| When y com eft aȝen to þe | wen I come heft a-ȝayn to þe |
| 224 þer-by myȝt þu knowe me | 224 þerby mayst þou wel knowe me |

HARL. 5396

- | | |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| 213 To my fadur I must gon | Pol. 305 ^b 215 A kote armur I bart with me |
| 214 ffor all hys wyll I haue don | ffor þat I toke for loue of þe |
| | þat closth was bothe gode & fyne |
| | And hyt hath suffryd mych pyne |
| | A full fayr may hyt wroȝt |
| | 220 Out of hur body hyt was broȝt |
| | hyt was powdryd all with red |
| | Wowndyd þat suffryd ded |
| | When I come efte agenn to þe |
| | 224 Wher-by ¹ þou may knowe me |

¹ h written above the line.

RAWL. POET. 175

225 þase þat bene of rent bi-hynde
 And þes dedeshaue nocht in mynde
 Sore may þai be a-dred
 When þis chartre sall be red
 All þa sall to hell pyne
 230 And *with* me to blys sall myne
 231 Pay þi rent kepe þe fra gylt
 Come & clayme when þou wylt
 þe blys þat lost our forme frende

234 To þe whilk *crist* vs bring *with-*
outen ende.

A— M— E— N—.

ADD. 11307

225 Tho þat ben of rente be-hynde
 An þuse dedes haue noȝt in mynde
 Sore may þeyer ben adrad
 Whan þis chartre shal ben rad
 Alle þey shulle to helle pyne
 230 *With* me to blisse shulle go myne
 231 Pay þi rente kep þe fro gylt
 Come and cleyme whan þou wylt
 The blisse þat loste oure former
 frende

Crist vs sende wiþouten ende.

Amen

Bod. 89

225 Thise þat ben of rent by-hynde Fol. 49 Pay þei rent and kepe þe from gilt
 and thise dedes haue not in mynde Come and chalenge what þou wilt
 Sore may thei þa ben a-dradde To þat blis þat lost oure forme
 Whanne þis Chartre shall be redde frende
 alle þei shulle to helle pyne 234 Crist vs brynge wiþ-oute ende
 230 wiþ me to blis hulle gone myn Amen¹

Explicit carta *Christi*

¹ For marks of ownership, etc., occurring upon this folio, see description of the ms. at pp. xxxi f.

HARL. 2346

ADD. BOD. C. 280

- 225 þo þat ben of rente bi-hynde 225 All þo þat be of rente be-hyndyne
 And þese loue-dedes haue noȝt in & my loue-dedys haue noȝt in
 mynde
 Sore may þey þan be a-drad 2d Col. fful sor mon þay ben adrad
 Whan þis chartre she be rad wen þis charter schall be red
 Alle þey shulle to helle pyne All þey schull til helle peyne
 Fol. 55 230 Wiþ me to blisse shul go 230 wyth me to blis schull gone all
 myne
 a Pay þi rente bue noȝt by-hinde a þerfor pay þi rent be nath be-hynde
 b ffor þourȝ þe ȝere þu myȝt þat gras b þrow þe ȝer þou myth grace fynde²
 fynde
 231 Pay þi dette kepe þe fro gylt 231 Pay þi dettys & kepe þe fro gylte
 Come and clayme when þu wylt & come & chalange wen þat þou
 wylte
 þe blysse þat lost oure forme frende þat blesse þat lese vr form frende
 234 Crist vs graunt with-oute ende 234 Cryst it vs grante with-vtyn ende
 Amen. a þat is to seyn þe blysse of heuyn
 b amen for is name seuyn
 Explicit carta domini nostri ihesu
 Christi³

HARL. 5396

- 225 þey þat bene of rent be-hynde 231 Pay þy dete & kepe þe fro gylt
 And thyse dedys haue noȝt yn Come & chalange what⁴ þat wylt
 mynde þe blysse þat lastyȝth euyr to my
 Sore may þey ben¹ a-dredde frende
 When þe charter schall ben red 234 Cryste us brynge with-owtyn ende
 All þey schall to hell pyne Explicit⁵
 230 With me to blysse schall go alle
 myne

¹ A faint mark, as though *half* erased, occurs over this word.

² Cf. lines 127-8.

³ For marks of ownership on this folio see description of the MS. at p. xxxi.

⁴ *w* is written after this word.

⁵ Some scribbling follows which seems to read: "Fayre Fayre sone he sayde."

MAGD. COLL. OXF. ST. PETER IN THE EAST 18^e (verso)

- Ihesu kyng of heuen ant helle
 man & woman y kil þe telle
 What loue y haue do to þe
 loke what loue þou hast do to me
 5 Of alle ioye þou were out-pult
 with treson & with-oute gylt
 Pore þou were dryue a-way
 as a best þat goþ on stray
 Fro my ryche y come a-doune
 10 to seche þe fro toun to toun
 Myn heritage þat is so fre
 in þy mischef to ȝyue hit þe
 whenne þis ȝyft ȝyue þe y sholde
 y dyde as þe lawe wolde
 15 To a mayde y ordeynyd me
 for no chalyenge shulde be
 Wel worpily he kepte þe ant me
 til y my tyme wolde see
 Fourty wokes and fourty daies
 20 to fulfille þe riȝt lawes
 þe mayde was triwe hende & free
 he resceyued ¹ boþe ² me & þe
 Me þy manhede & þy grace
 þus cam sesing furst a place
 25 Whan þis sesyng was y-do
 ful grete enuy hadde þo þy foo
 þo belzebub & sathanas
 hadde grete wonder wh[i]³ hit was
 He fondit me with felonye
 30 with pride couetyse & glotonye
 Wel he wiste y was a manne
 but synne on me fonde he none
 33 Hard he pretned me in hys þouȝt
 þat þat sesyng shulde be dere bouȝt
 35 He sent his seruantes with maistrie
 With wo & sorowe me to destrye
 Wel he fonde hym gayned noȝt
 anoper þyng was in my þouȝt
 More syker þe to make
 40 aȝens þy foo ful of wrake
 Heuen & erþe in present
 to make a chartre of feoffament
 In suche a maner be-houyþ to be
 þat y most ȝyue my lyfe for þe
 45 For þou art dede ant y am lif
 y most dye to ȝyue þe lif
 Mony a way y haue go
 in hungre & thirst thole & wo
 þritti wynter & mo þan too
 50 er my charter were full doo
 No myȝt y ⁴ fynde no parchemyn
 for to laste with-oute fyne
 But as loue bad me doo
 myn owne skyn y toke þer-too
 55 To gete me frendys y gaf good mede
 so doþ þe pore þat haue more nede
 On a þorsday a souper y made
 frend & fo to make glade [fode
 With mete ant drynke to soulys
 60 With holy wordes my flesh & blode
 þis y made for mankynde
 62 My loue-dedys to haue in mynde
Hoc facite in meam comemoraci-
onem

¹ Transcript *resteyned*.³ The last letter is blurred but looks like o.² The first letter has been altered in writing. ⁴ Transcript *myȝty*.

MANUSCRIPTS
OF
THE LONG CHARTER
B-TEXT

THE LONG CHARTER—B-TEXT

CAMB. UNIV. Ii. 3. 26.

CAMB. UNIV. Ii. 4. 9.

Bona carta gloriose passionis domini nostri ihesu Christi¹

Fol. 235

Ho so euyr will rede this
boke
And with gostly ey
there-yn loke
To othir thyng schall he not
wende

To saue his sowle fro the fende
5 Than for to do as this boke telleth
ffor holy wrytt for-soth hit spellyth
Whare-fore y pray yow for charite
In this booke ye reede and see
With all youre hert and yowre mynd

10 And kepe trewly þat ye þer-yn fynde
And that ye fulfyll in dede
Which in this booke ye doth reede
Nowe ye schull hyre anon ryght
Howe criste spekyth to vs all tyȝt

15 Wordis of a chartour þat he haþe
wrowȝt

16 that ye schall kepe with all your
þowȝt

{ With all youre hert and your mynde
And kepe trewly þat ye there-yn
fynde²

a to make a chartour by-houȝþ
many þyng³

b As parchement pen and ynke

c Wex and seele wytnyssith also

d Yowre rent þat ye þer for schall do

Fol. 42^b

Ho-so-euyr wyll rede ouyr
this boke
And wyth his gostly
þere-In loke
Tyl the scole dare he not wende

To saue is sowle frome the fende
5 þanne for to do as this boke tellyth
for holy wrytte for-soth it spellyth
where-for I praye ȝou for charyte
ȝe that this boke wyl rede or see
Sett youre hertes þere-on & your
mendys

10 kepe derworthly þat ȝe þere-in fynde
And fulfyll it in dede
that ȝe schul nowe in this boke rede
for ȝe schul now here A-none ryghte
yours Sauyour speke to ȝou a-plyght
15 wordys of chartur þat he hath
wroughte

.
.
.
.
.
.
.

¹ At the top of this folio is some writing, illegible to me.

² Repetition of lines 9 and 10, apparently by mistake.

³ For lines corresponding to this and the following three, cf. C-Text (MS. Reg. 17. c. xvii).

THE LONG CHARTER—B-TEXT

COTT. CALIG. A II.

CAMB. UNIV. Ff. 2. 38.

Carta ihesu Christi

here folowep þe chartur of criste

Fol. 77a

Fol. 39^b

1 Who so wyll ouer-rede thys boke

ho-so will ouer-rede this
boke

And with hys gostlye ye þer-on
loke

And wyth hys goostly eye
per-on loke

To oper skole dare he not wende

To odor scole dar he not wende

For to saue his sowle fro þe fende Fol. 40^a To saue hys soule fro the fende

5 Then for to do as þis boke telleth

5 Than for to do as þys boke tellyth

For holy wryte for-soþe hit spelleth

ffor holy wryte for-sothe hyt spellyth

Wherfore y pray 3ou for charyte

Wherefore y pray yow for charyte

þe þat þis boke wyll rede or se

He that thys boke wyll rede or see

With your herte & all your mynde

Wyth yowre herte & all yowre mynde

10 Bereth derworply þat 3e her fynde 10 Kepyth derworpely þat ye here-in
fynde

And fulfyller hit in dede

And fulfyllyth hyt in dede

That 30 now yn þis boke shull rede

That ye schull now in þys boke rede

For 3e shull here a-none ryght

ffor now stonde ye full styll here

anon ryzt

How your sauyour speketh to you
as-tyte

Yowre sau^your wyll speke to yow
vs t^yt

-15 Wordus of a charter þat he hath wrowȝth 15 Wordes of a chartur þat he hath wrought

16 That ye now kepe yn all your pow^{er}th 16 That ye now knowe in all yowre tho^ugt

[illegible]

CAMB. UNIV. II. 3. 26.

- 17 Who this chartour doth vndirstonde
 teche hit forth *in* diuerse londe
 to othir þat haueþe it nowȝt sayne
 20 hit sauþe sowlis fro þe payne
 a Ye that comeþe and wol noȝt teche
 b May be a-gast of god-is wreche
 21 Ellis schull ye noȝt withoutyn stryfe

Passe fro the world to þe lond of lyfe

Now schall y be-gyn to rede þer-on
 Criste grawnt yow pes euery-chone

- 25 Ihesus lorde of heuen and hell
 to man and woman woll y tell
 loke whate loue y haue y-do to þe
 28 loke whate loue þou hast do to me
 a Aftyr my-silfe þou were the beste ¹
 b Of all creaturis þou art fayreste
 c A fayrer creature may none be
 d Aftir my-silfe y made the
 e But for þou were vnþuxum to me
 f And etyste an appull of a tre
 2nd Col.
 g þat y forbode þou scholdyst noȝt take
 h þou were y-dreue a-way with þy make
 29 ffram paradise þou were y-pulte
 30 With care and sorow all to-spulte
 And there þou were y-dryue a-waye
 As a beste that goth in-straye
 ffrom my kyngdome y come downe
 to seche the fram towne to towne
 35 To helpe the of thy myschefe
 Dereworth soule þou art me lefe
 My heritage þat is so fre
 In thy myschefe y yaue the

CAMB. UNIV. II. 4. 9.

- 17 þat ȝe thys boke cunne vndystonde
 Telle ȝe it in All thys londe
 To other þat thys boke haue not seyne
 20 To Sauē here sowles as youre owene
 a for they þat cunne And wyl not teche
 b It is to drede of ful gret wrethe
 21 for ellys ȝe schul nat wyth-oute gret
 stryfe
 frome thys worlde passe to þe londe of
 lyfe
 Now he wyl be-gynne to rede þere-one
 his pees he ȝeue vs euerychone

Fol. 43^a

- 25 Ihesu lorde of heuene & helle
 Mane And womane I wyll the telle
 loke what loue I haue do for the
 28 And loke what loue þou hast do for me
 a
 b
 c
 d
 e
 f
 g
 h
 29 frome paradyse þou were owt pytte
 30 Wyth care And sorowe þou were spylte
 And for þou were I-drawe A-waye
 as best that gooth A-straye
 for my ryghte I came A-downne
 To seke the frome townne to townne
 35 To helpe the in thyne myschefe
 derworthly soule þat Art my lyfe
 Myne erytage that is so fre
 In thy myschefe I ȝaf the
 And whanne þat solyngē A-ȝeue þe solde
 40 I dyde as þe iewes wolde

¹ Cf. C-Text, vv. 35-38 and 41-44 inclusive.

COTT. CALIG. A. II.

CAMP. UNIV. Ff. 2. 38.

17 And when þe þis boke kan vnþerstonde
 Teche hit forth þorow all þis londe
 Vntyll oper þat þis boke haue not sowen

20 To saue þeyr sowles ryȝt as þour owen

21 For ellys þe shall not without gret
 stryfe

Fro þis worlde passe into þe londe of lyf

Now y wyll begynne to rede þereon

Hys pees he ȝeue vs euerychone

25 Ihesu lord of heuen & helle

Man & wommon y woll þow telle

Loke what loue y haue to þee

28 And loke what loue þou hast to me

.

29 Fro paradys þou were out pylte

30 With kare & sorow þou beþ all spylte

And forþe þou bere drawe a-way

As a beste þat goth a-straye

For my ryght y come a-downe

To seke þe fro town to towne

35 To holpe þe yn þy myschef

Derworth sowle þou art me lef

Myn Erytage þat ys so fre

In þy myschef to ȝeue hit þe

And when þat sesyng y ȝeue schulde

40 A dede as þe jewys wolde

17 And who thys boke can undurstonde
 Teche hyt forthe thorow ous þys londe
 Oon-tyll oper þat þys boke haue now
 swane

20 To saue ther soulys ryȝt as þer owne

a ffor he that can and wyll not teche

b Hyt ys to drede of full grete wreche

21 ffor ellys ye can not withowt grete stryfe

ffor þys worlde passyþ in-to þe londe of
 lyfe

Now y wyll begynne to rede ther-one

Hys pees he ȝeue us euery-chone

25 Ihesu lorde of heuene and helle

Man & woman y wole þow telle

Loke what prowē y do¹ to þe

28 And loke what loue þou haste done to
 me

.

29 ffor paradys þou were owte pylte

30 With care & sorowe þou were owt y-
 spylte

And forthe þou were dreven a-way

As a beste þat goyth on-straye

ffor my ryght y come a-downe

To seke the fro towne to towne

35 To helpe the in thy myschefe

Derworthe soule thou were lefe

Myn herytage that ys² so free

In thy myschefe to ȝeue thee

And whene þe sesyng y gyf þe schulde

40 I dudd³ as the jewes wolde

¹ Before *do* the scribe wrote *haue* and afterwards cancelled it.

² There is a tail on the *s* in this word.

³ *Hic et passim* after words ending in *dd* this scribe adds a tail which probably represents a final *e*.

CAMB. UNIV. II. 3. 26.

- 41 To a mayde y toke me
 42 Whan y conseyuyd schulde be
 a Derwardly sche kept me
 b Till tyme fulfyllid schulde be
 43 the mayde was mylde and free
 he reseuyd me for the
 45 Nyne mounthis *with* hir y was
 to make a-mendis for thi trespass
 Whan y was to þis world y-borne
 to saue the that were forlorne
 Throwe vertu and throwe grace
- 50 Come this seyson furst in place
 51 Virgyn mary mayde mylde
 Wyth me he went grete *with* childe

 55 That cursyd fende sathanas
 Had grete meruayle why hit was

 59 Wroth he was hit helpid *him* noȝt
 60 the to helpe euer was my thouȝt
 He temptyd me to grete foly
 With pryde couetyse and glotený
 Well he wyste y was a man
 64 But synne in me fownde he none

 68

CAMB. UNIV. II. 4. 9.

- 41 To a mayde I be-toke me
 42 Whanne I conseywyd schulde be
 a ful derly for-soth sche kepte me
 b To the tyme fulfyllid be
 43 the mayde was mylde trew & fre
 sche reseyuēde me for the
 45 Xe monthes wyth here I was
 to make A-mendis for thy trespass
 here I in-to the worlde was borne
 To Saue mankende þat was forlorne
 thorow myn wertu And thorow myn
 grace
- 50 thus came furst this selynge in place
 Fol. 43^b virgyne marie mayde mylde
 wyt me thus went gret wyth childe
 And whanne thys Selynge vas I-do
 wyl gret Envyē hade the foo
 55 þat cursed fende Sathanas
 hade gret wondyr why it was
 wher-for I schulde so meche loue the
 that so vnkend hast be to me
 wroth he was it helpe hyme noughte
 60 for to helpe the was All my thoughte
 he tempted me to gret foly
 In pride covetyse And glotený
 And wyl he wyste I was A mane
 But synne in me fonde he none
 65 for-soth ¹ ful herde he thrett me
 that sesynge schulde dere A-boughte be
 for to dystroy me thorow hys myghte
 68 And putt the for euyr frome my syghte

¹ Ms. *for* corrected from *forth*.

COTT. CALIG. A. II.

CAMB. UNIV. Ff. 2. 38.

41 Vntyll a mayde y be-toke me
 42 When þat y conceyued shulde be
 a full wordly she kepte me
 Tyll þe tyme fulfilled shuld be
 The mayde was trwe mylde & fre
 þe me reseuyed for loue of þe
 yne monethes with her y was
 To make amendes for þy trespas
 Or y ynto þis worlde was borne
 To saue mankynde þat was forlorn
 Thorow þe vertu of my grace
 Thus kome þis sesyng fyrst in place
 Vyrgyn Mary mayden mylde
 With me went grette with chylde
 And when þis sesyng was all y-do
 Grete enuye hadde þy fo
 55 That cursedde fend satanas
 Hadde gret wonþer why hit was
 Wherfor j wolde so myche loue þe
 That so vnkynde hast be to me
 Wroth he was hit helpede hym noȝt
 60 For to helpe þe was all my þowȝt
 He tempted me yn so gret foly
 An pride couetyse & glotenye
 And well he wyste y was a man
 But synne yn me fonde he none
 65 ffor-soþe well harde he þretened me
 How þat sesyng shuld dere y-bowȝt b[e]
 For to dystroye me þorow his m[yȝht]
 68 And putte þe for euer out of m[y syȝht]

41 Tyll a maydyn y be-toke mee
 42 When y conceuyd schulde bee

 43 The maydyn was trewe mylde & free
 Sche resseyuyd me for loue of thee
 45 Nyne monthes with hur y was
 To make amendys for thy trespas
 Or y in-to thys¹ worlde was borne
 To saue mankynde þat was forlorne
 Throrowe my vertue and my grace
 50 Thus came þys sesyng fyrste on place
 Vyrgyne mary maydyn mylde
 Wyth me went þus grete with chylde
 And when þys sesyng was all y-do
 Well grete envy hadd thy foo
 55 That cursydd fende satanas
 Had grete wondur why hyt was
 wherefore y wolde so moche loue þe
 That so vnkynde haste þou be to me
 Wroth he was hyt helpyd hym noȝt
 60 ffor to helpe the was all my þoght
 He tempted me in so grete folye
 Pryde couetyse and glotenye
 And well he wyste y was a man
 But synne in me fonde he none
 65 ffor-sothe ryght harde he threted me
 That sesyng schulde haue beten me
 ffor to dystroye me þorow hys myȝt
 68 And put the for-euer owt fro my syȝt

¹ The *s* in this word is followed by a tail.

CAMB. UNIV. Ii. 3. 26.

- 69 Derwarde sowle herkny to me
 70 And a newe ioye y tell to the
 to make this chartour of feoffament
 Heuen and erpe schall be present
 Hit schall in such maner be
 þat y mote ȝeue my lyfe for the
 75 Whan y am dede man be thow kynde

And haue this chartour euer in mynde
 ffor thy enemy þat þe hath sowȝt

- Fol. 235^b the woll for-yete ryght nowght
 there-fore y wol day for thy folye
 80 to brynge the in my company
 I am a-lyue and þou art dede
 y yef the lyfe a-yenste þe quede
 To helpe the y am redy
 And to saue the fram thy enmye
 85 Many a way y haue y-goo
 In hungyr chele and thurst also
 Thyrt wyntyr and thre there-to
 Was all ar all my disese were y-do
 Parchement to fynde wyste y none
 90 To make a chartour a-yenste thy fone
 That schall leste with-outyn mynde
 92 Herkeneth to me wordis and eynde

CAMB. UNIV. Ii. 4. 9.

- 69 Nowe derworthly soule herke to me
 70 And A newe Ioye I xal telle the
 To make A chartore of feffement
 heuene And erth schuld be presente
 But in soth² A maner it mot nede be
 þat I xall ȝeue myne lyfe for the
 75 And whanne I Am dede man be þe
 kende
 And haue thys chartur eyr in n.
 for A enmye þou hast þat hat
 soughte

- Fol. 44^a for I wylde for thyne foly
 80 And brynge the in-to my company
 I am lyf And þou art deþ
 I wull ȝeue lyf A-ȝene þe qued
 for to helpe I ame All redy
 to saue the eyr frome thyn enmye
 85 for many way I haue goo
 In hunger thyrst schel And wo
 xxxti wyntyr And thre þere-to
 or my desese were All do
 Parchement to fynde wyst I none
 90 To make thy charture A-ȝene thy fone
 þat wolde last wyth-oute ende
 92 herkenyth now to my wordes hende

CAMB. UNIV. Ee. 2. 15.

The Chartur

Fol. 90^a

- 69 Nowe derworthly Sowle herkyn to me
 And a newe Ioye I shall telle the

TO make a chartur of fefment¹
 hevyn and erthe shall be present
 But in such manere hit mvst nedys be
 That I shall yelde my lyfe for the

- 75 And whan I am dede man be þou kynde
 And haue thys chartur evyr in thy
 mynde
 ffor an enemye that hathe þe³ sought
 But I shall for no thyng lese the nought
 ffor I wylle dye for thy folye
 80 And brynge the in-to my companye

¹ Immediately preceding this line is a duplicate of it, which is cancelled, the fourth word being spelled *chartour*.

² Thus the MS.

³ þe is inserted above the line.

COTT. CALIG. A. II.

CAMB. UNIV. Ff. 2. 38.

- 69 Now dereworth soule herken [to me]
 70 And a newe joye shall y telle [þe]
 To make a chartur of feffem[ent]
 Heuen & erþe shall be pres[ent]
 Hit moste nedus in suche man[er be]
 That y most ȝolde my lyf fo[r þe]
 75 And when y am deed man þe[n be
 þou kynde]
 And haue þis chartyr euer yn þ[y
 mynde]
 ffor þyn enmy þat hath þe so[wȝht]
 And ȝyt shall y lose þe nowȝ[t]
 ffor y woll dye for þy foly
 80 And brynge þe yn-to my cu[mpanye]
 I am lyf and þou art dede
 Call þou my lyf aȝeyn þy [nede]
 ffor to helpe þe y am redy
 To saue þe euer fro þyn en[my]
 85 ffor many a way haue y [goo]
 In hunger þryste chele & woo
 Thrytty wyntyr & þre þerto
 Or my desese wer all y-do
 Parchemyn to fynde wyste y none
 90 To make a chartur aȝens þy fone
 That wolde laste with-owten ende
 92 Herken now to my wordes hende

- 69 Now derworthe soule herken to me
 70 And a newe yoye y schall telle to þe
 To make a chartur of feffement
 Heuen and erthe schall be presente
 But in soche a maner hyt muste be
 That y schall ȝelde my lyfe for the
 75 And whan y am dede man be þou kynde
 And haue þys chartur eyr in þy mynde
 ffor an enemy that hathe the soght
 But y schall for noþyng lese þe noȝt
 ffor y wold dye for thy folye
 80 And brynge in-to my companye
 I am a-lyue and thou art dedd²
 Fol. 40^b I wold yeue my lyfe ayenste þy quede
 ffor to helpe þe y am all redy
 ffor to saue þe euer fro þyn enemye
 85 ffor many a way y haue y-goo
 In hungur thurste cheyle & woo
 Thretty wyntur & thre therto
 Or my dysese were all y-doo
 Perchement to fynde wyste y noone
 90 To make thy chartur a-yenste þy foone
 That wolde laste with-owten ende
 92 Herkenyth now to my wordys hende

CAMB. UNIV. Ee. 2. 15.

- 81 I am lyfe and thou art dede
 I wylle yeve my lyfe a-yenst thyn quede
 ffor to helpe the I am alle redy
 ffor to saue the euer¹ fro thyn enemy
 85 ffor many a way I have goo
 In hunger thruste chele and woo
 Thyrty wynter and thre þer-to
 Or my dyssese were alle I-doo
 Parchemyn to fynde wyst I noone
 90 To make the chartur a-yenst thy foone
 That wold last withoutyn ende
 92 herkenys now to my free wordys hende

¹ *Euer* is inserted above the line.² Or *dede*?

CAMB. UNIV. Ii. 3. 26.

- 93 But as trewe loue me bad to do
 Myne owne skynne y toke there-to
 95 And whan y hadd so y-do
 few frendis hadd y tho
 To geete me frendis y ȝafe gret mede
 98 As doth the poure that hath nede

 101 Than my-selue for the
 Was y-naylid to the tree
 On a thorsday a soper y made
 104 With frendis and foyes to make hem glad
 105 Of brede and wyne the sacrament
 Euyr to be oure testament
 hit is my fleysche and my blode
 To hem that lyuyth in mylde mode
 To hem that dyeth out of charite
 110 her dampnacioun for euyr schall be
 here schall y foure wordis teche
 to the peple and it preche
 therefore take hit to yowre mynde
 yf ye will to heuen wende
 115 Now this word is of the sacrament
 116 that men schall reseuyue verament

CAMB. UNIV. Ii. 4. 9.

- 93 but as trewe loue bad me do
 Myne owne skynne I toke þere-to
 95 And whanne I hade ȝit so I-do
 wul fewe frendes had I þo
 to gete me frendes I ȝaf gret mede
 as doth þe pore þat hath gret nede
 But for to ȝeue the I hade no more
 100 for thi sowle þat was for-lorne
 þanne my-selſe for to ȝeue the
 þat for the dyed vppone A tre
 vppone A thursday A sopyr I mad
 Both frend & foo to make heme glade
 105 of¹ bred And wyne the sacramente
 for euyr to be youre testament²
 the wyche is myne fesche & myne bloode
 Fol. 44^b To tho þat here levynē vith mylde mode
 And tho þat deyne oute of charyte
 110
 here wyl I iiije wordys teche
 to the pupyl I bydde ȝou heme preche
 And þat þey haue heme euire in mende
 here mende in heuene they schul fynde
 115 these wordys towchene þe Sacrament
 116 þat mend sundyrly resecyuene verament

CAMB. UNIV. Ee. 2. 15.

- 93 But as trewe love bad me doo
 Myn owyn skyn to take ther-to
 95 And whan I had so I-doo
 Well fewe frendys had I thoo
 To gete me frendys I ȝaf gret mede
 As dothe the poure that hathe gret nede
 99
 100 ffor thy soule that was for-lore
 Than my soule to yeve for the³
 That for the dyed vp-on the tree
 Vp-on a thursday a supper I made
 104 To frende and foo to make hem glade

¹ After of in this line there stands in the MS. what looks like a cancelled h.

² In the MS. this line was omitted from its place and was written after line 108.

³ *thyn* deleted before *the*.

COTT. CALIG. A. II.

CAMB. UNIV. Ff. 2. 38.

- 93 But as trewe loue ladde¹ me þo
Myn owene skyne y take þer-to
95 And when y hadde so y-do
Well fewe frendes hadde y tho
To gete me frendes y ȝaf gret mede
As þoth þe pore þat hath myche nede
But to gyf þe y hadde no more
100 ffor þy sowle þat was forlore
Then my sowle y ȝaf for þe
ffor to dye vpon a tre
Vpon a thursday a sowper y made
To frend & fo to make hem glade
105 Of breed & wyne þe sacrament
ffor euer to be my testament
Whych ys my flesch & my blode
To þo þat lyuen yn mykyll mode
And to þem þat dyen out of charite
110 Her dampnacyon for euer to be
Her wyll y ȝou fowr wordes teche
[A]nd to þe pepull loke ȝe hem preche
Hoc facite in meam commemoracionem
[P]o þat haue hem euer yn mynde
[H]ygh mede in heuen shall ȝe fynde
115 These wordes towchen þe sacrament
116 That men resseyuen verament

- 93 But as trewe loue badd me doo
Myn owne skynne y toke ther-too
95 And whan y had so y-doo
Well fewe frendys had y tho
To gete me frendys y gafe grete mede
As doþ þe pore man þat haþ grete nede
But for to yeue þe had y no more
100 ffor thy soule that was for-lore
Then my-selfe to yeue for the
That for the dyed vpon a tree
Vpon a thursday a soper y made
To frende & foo to make þem gladd
105 Of bredd and wyne the sacrament
ffor eyur to be my testament
whych ys my flesche & my blode
To them þat leuen in mylde mode
And tho þat dyen owt of charyte
110 Ther dampnacioun for eyur to bee
Here wold y my wordes yow teche
And to þe pepull y pray yow þem preche
Hoc facite in meam commemoracionem
And that they haue þem in mynde
Ther mede in heuene þere schull þey
fynde
115 These wordes techeth the sacrament
116² That men reseceyuene verament

CAMB. UNIV. Ee. 2. 15.

- 105 Of bred and wyne the sacrament
For ever to be in my testament
wyche ys my fleshe and my blode
To thoo þat levyn in mylde moode
And to þoo þat dyen out of charyte
110 here damponacioun for evyr to be
Fol. 90^b Here wold I you foure wordys teche

- And to the peple I pray you hem preche³
Hoc facite in meam commemoracionem
AND that they have hem ever in
mynde
here mede in hevyn there shall
þey fynde
115 These wordys tovyhyth the sacrament
116 That men receyuen verament

¹ The *de* in this word has a stroke over it.² In the ms. line 116 follows line 117.³ *teche* deleted before *preche*.

CAMB. UNIV. II. 3. 26.

- 117 Hit semyth meny and is but oone
 Hit semyth brede and it is none
 Hit is quykk and semyth dede
- 120 Hit is my body in forme of brede
 Hit is y-made for man-kynde¹
- 122 My wondirfull dedis to haue in mynde

- 125

- 127 And ar y fram the borde a-rose
 2nd Col. To the iewes betrayed y was
 Whan y hadd y-soped y ros a-none
- 130 to grete maystris þey gan goone
 And brought me forth in the way
 As a lyon that goth a-bowte his pray
 And a-none they be-gan to pylle me
 And sayde y schulde day vppon a tre
- 135 My mantell and othir clothis mo
 All y hadd well sone for-goo

- 139 All my clothis fro me they token
- 140 And all my frendis me for-sokyn

CAMB. UNIV. II. 4. 9.

- 117 It semyth many & it is but one
 It semyth bred And itt is none
 It is qwyce and semyth dede
- 120 It is myne body in forme of brede
 this made I for mane-kende
 My wondyrfull dedys to haue in mende
 Who-so it resceyuith in clenness
 Sauyd xal he be And come to blysse
- 125 And to haue in mynde myne passyoun
 the qwych xal þin saluacioun
 or I frome that borde ros
 of myne dysciple trayed I was
 Whanne he hadde suppyd he ros A-none
- 130 To gret maystrys he gane gone
 And broughte heme wyt hym in þe waye
 As a lyone goth A-bowte hys praye
 A-none the be-gunne to vnspoyle me
 And seyde I schulde dye vppone A tre
- 135 My mantyl And other clothes moo
 Fol. 45^a All I hade heme sone for-goo
 they cast lot as wolde be-falle
 wheyther one schulde haue all or part
 Alle
 But Alle myne clothys frome me they
 tokene
- 140 And Alle myne frendys me sone for-
 sokne

CAMB. UNIV. Ee. 2. 15.

- 117 hit semyth many and ys but oon
 hit semythe bred and it ys noon
 hit ys queke and semys dede
- 120 hit ys my bodi in forme of breede
 Thys made I oonly for man-kynde
 My wonderfulle dedys to haue in mynde
- 123 Who-so resseyvyth it in clenness
 Savid shall be and come to blys
- 125 And to have in mynde my passyoun
 The wyche shall be thy sauacyoun
 Or I fro the boorde a-roos
 Of my dysspyple be-trayed I was

¹ Opposite this line in the margin is written *Memoriam fecit mirabilium suorum*.

COTT. CALIG. A II.

CAMB. UNIV. Ff. 2. 38.

117 Hyt semyth mony & ys but on
 Hyt semyth brede & hit ys none
 Hyt ys qwylike & semeth deed
 120 Hyt ys my body in forme of breed
 Thys made y only for mankynde
 [M]y wonperfull werkes to haue yn
 mynde

Who so resevue hit yn clenness
 [S]aued shall be & come to blysse
 125 [A]nd to haue yn mynde my passyon
 That shall be py saluacyon
 Ere y fro þe bord arose
 Of my dyscypull betrayd y wose
 When he had sowped he rose a-non
 130 To grete maystres ryde he gone
 And browȝt hem with hym yn þe way
 As a lyon goth abowte his pray
Suscepit me sicut leo paratus ad predam

Anon þey begon to spoyle me
 And sayde y shulde dye vpon a tre
 135 My mantell & oþer cloþus mo
 All y hadde hem sone for-go
 They caste lotte as wolde befall
 Wheþer on shuld hem or parte hem all

So all my cloþus fro me þey token
 140 And all my frendus me for-soken

117 Hyt semeþ many hyt ys but oone
 Hyt seemeþ bredd and hyt ys noone
 Hyt ys quykk and semyth dedd
 120 Hyt ys my body in forme of bredd
 Thys made y oonly for mankynde
 My wondurfull dedys to haue in mynde

Who-so resceyueth hyt in klenness²
 Sauydd schall be and come to blysse
 125 And to haue in mynde my passyoun
 The whych schall be thy sauacioun
 Or y fro the borde aroos
 Of my dyscypull be-trayed y was
 When he had sowpyd he roos anone
 130 To the grete maystys he can gone
 And broȝt þem with hym in þe way
 As a lyone þat gothe a-bowte hys pray
Susceperunt me sicut leo patris ad predam

Anon þey be-ganne³ to spoyle me
 And seydd y schulde dye vpon a tre
 135 My mantell & oþur cloþys moo
 All y hadd þem sone forgoo
 They caste lotte as wolde be-falle
 wheþer oon schulde haue all or part
 þem all

But all my cloþys fro me þey tokene
 140 And all my frendys me forsokene

CAMB. UNIV. Ee. 2. 15.

When he had soped he roos a-noon
 130 To grete maysteys he gan goon
 And brought hem with hym in þe way
 As a lyone that gothe a-boute hys pray
Susceperunt me sicut leo paratus and¹
predam

A-NOON they be-gonne to spoyle
 me
 And seyde I shuld dye vpon
 a tree

135 My mantell and other clothys moo
 Alle I hadde hem⁴ sone for-goo
 They cast lotte as wolde be-falle
 Where oone shuld haue alle or part
 hem alle
 But alle my clothys fro me they tokyn
 And alle my frendys sone me for-soky

¹ Thus the MS.² MS. *be ganne* corrected from *be game*.³ The *k* is blurred.⁴ *hem* is inserted.

CAMB. UNIV. Ii. 3. 26.

- 141 Nakyd y stooode a-monge my¹ foen
 Othir sokoure had y none
 Redy they were to do me disese
 there was none that wolde me plesse
- 145 they made skorges scharpe and grete
 Where-with my body schulde they bete
 And thowgh y wolde haue playnyd me
 there schulde no socowre to me haue be
 Sore a-ferde forsoth y was
- 150 Whan they ledde me in-to place
- 151 To a piloure y was bownde ful sore
- 152 On me they had no pite thore
- a they seyde be gladd and mery of chere
 b they both thy frendis þat stondiþe here
 c We schall neuyr forsake the
 d till we se the naylid on tree
- 155 this he stooode y-bownde all nyght
 156 till the morow hit was day lyght
 153 y waysche with my owen blode
 154 And on the erth colde y stooode
- 157 Sone aftyr y-straynyd vppon a tre
 158 As parchement owȝt to be
 159 Herknyth and ye schall wete
 160 How this chartour was y-wrete

CAMB. UNIV. Ii. 4. 9.

- 141 nakyd I stode A-monge myne foone
 for other soker had I none
 Redy þey werne me to dysese
 But neuyr one þere me to please
- 145 they madene þere skourges grete
 wherwyth my body schulde be bete
 And thow I wolde haue pleynned me
 þere schulde none socure haue² bene
 ful sore a-ferde for-sothe I was
- 150 quan they ledde me forth so gret A
 pace
- 151 Towarde A peler they ledde me swythe
- 152 And þere A-boundene And betyne I was
 be-lyue
-

- 153 And waschyne wyth myn owene blood
 þat one þe erthe A-boute colde it stode
- 155 And so ij stooode boundene al þat nyghte
 Tyl one þe morowe þat it was daye
 lyghte
- Strayned wel herde vppone A tre
 As parchemente myghte to be
 heryth nowe And ȝe schul wetyne
- 160 howe thys charture was wreten

CAMB. UNIV. Ee. 2. 15.

- 141 Nakyd I stode a-monge my foen
 For other socour had I noon
 Redy they were me for to disese
 But noon ther was me for to please
- 145 They mad scorges harde and grete
 Ther-wyth my body schulde be bete
 And though I wolde have playned me
- Fol. 91^a Ther schulde to me no socoure have be
 ffulle Sore a-ferde for-sothe I was³
- 150 Whanne they⁴ led me forthe so gret
 a paas
- 151 To a peler I was bovnde alle the nyght
 152 Tugged and betyn tyll it was day lyght

¹ *my* is inserted. ² After *socure*, *A* has been cancelled, and after *haue* *h* has been cancelled.³ *The cartur* is written in the margin.⁴ *had* was written after *they* and then deleted.

COTT. CALIG. A. II.

CAMB. UNIV. Ff. 2. 38.

- 141 Naked y stod among my fone
ffor oþer sokour hadde y none
Redy þey wer me for to dysese
But none þe was me to plesse
- 145 They made skourges hwge & grete
Therwith my body for to bete
And þowȝ y wolde haue playned me
Ther schulde to me no sokour haue be
ffull sore aferd for-soþe y was
- 150 When þey ledde me so gret a pase
To a pyler y was bownd all nyȝt
- 152 Tugged & beten tyll hit was day lyȝt
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- 153 And wasshen with my owene blode
That on þe yrþe abowte me flode
- 155 And so y suffred all þe nyȝt
Tyll on morn hit was day-lyȝt

Streyned well harde to a tre
As parchemyn oweth for to be
Herkeneth now & ȝe shall wyten
- 160 How þe chartur was wryten

- 141 Nakyd y stode amonge my foone
ffor odur socour had y noone
Redy þey were me for to dysese
But none þer was me for to plesse
- 145 They made scorges harde & grete
Ther-with my body schulde be bete
And thought y wolde haue pleyned me
Ther schulde no socour to me haue bee
ffull sore aferde for-sothe y was
- 150 When þey ladd me forþe so grete a pase
To a peler y was bownden all þe nyght
- 152 Scorged & betyd tyl hyt was day-lyght
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- 153 And waschen with myn owne blood
That on erþe abowte flode stode
- 155 And so y stode bounden all þe nyght
Tyll on þe¹ morne þat hyt was lyght
- Fol. 41^a
Streyned well harde vpone a tree
As perchement owyth for to be
Heryth and ye schall weten
- 160 How thys chartur was y-wretone

CAMB. UNIV. Ee. 2. 15.

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- 153 And waschen wyth myn owyn bloode
That on the erthe a-boute me stode
- 155 And so I stood bounde all the nyght
Tyll on the morowe þat it was lyght
Streyned well faste vp-on a tree
As parchemyn owyth for to be
heryth nowe & ȝe shall wetyn
- 160 howe thys chartyr was I-wretyn

¹ Or þis?

CAMB. UNIV. II. 3. 26.

161 Of my face fill downe the ynke
Whan thornys on my hed gan synke
the pennys that the lettris were with
wrytene

were skorges that y was with betyne
165 How many lettris there-in bene¹
Rede and thow myste wyte and seene
With .V. Ml. CCCC. fyfty and ten
Woundis in my body blak and whane

Fol. 23⁶ ffor to schew the of my loue-dede

170 my-sylue y Woll the chartor rede

ye that goth forth by the wey²

take hede and loke with yowre ey

Redith vppon this parchemyne

Of eny sorow were grettir þan myne

175 He that hireth this chartor y-redde

How y am wowedid and all for-bled

Reportith ye that beth hider y-come

178 that y am ihesus nazareth god-is son

.

180

181 that was y-bore in betheleem

Of mary y-offrid in ierusalem

The kyng is son of heuen aboue

184 A merciful fadir and full of loue

CAMB. UNIV. II. 4. 9.

161 Vppone myne hede A crowne þey sett
thornes thorowe myn brayne þei mette
The pennes þat þe letteres wretyne

Fol. 45^b Werene scourges þat I was wyt smetene

165 how many lettrys there-one bene

Rede and þoue maye wete & seene

Ve Milia V. C.I And xē

Wondes one myn body both rede & wane
for to schewe þe of loue-dede

170 My-selfe I wol the charture rede

O vos omnes qui transitis per viam

þe mene þat gone forth in þe weye

takyth hede and lokyth with your eye

And redyth vppone this parchement

þif any sorowe be so gret as myne

175 þet stondyth and heryth þe charture rede

why I Am wondyd & all for-blede

Sciunt presentes & futuri

wote þe þat be here and be fore to come

þat Ihesu of nazareth goddes sone

vndrestond þe wyl þat wollyn Abyde

180 þat Ihesu hath now A bloody syde

þat bore was in bedleme

of maryl offered in Ierusalem

þe kynges sone of heuene a-boue

184 A mercyfull fadyr þat wel I loue

CAMB. UNIV. Ee. 2. 15.

161 Ouer alle my face fell the ynke
Thornys in myn hed be-gonne to synke
The pennys þat the letterys wretyn

Were scorges þat I was wytth smetyn

165 howe many letterys þat ther-on beñ

Rede and thou may wete an seen

V ml v c fyfty and ten thanne

Woundys on my body bothe rede
and wanne.

ffor to shewe the of my love in deede

170 My-selfe I wolde here the chartur rede

O vos omnis qui transitis per viam.

attendite et videte si est dolor similis

sicut dolor meus

ye men þat goon foorth here by the

weye

172 Be-holde and see bothe nyght and daye

¹ nota bene is written in the margin opposite this line.

² In the margin is written *o vos omnes qui transitis per viam.*

COTT. CALIG. A. II.

CAMB. UNIV. Ff. 2. 38.

- 161 Ouer all my face fyll þe ynke
With þornus þat in my hedde gonne
synke
The pennus þat þose letterus wryten
Wer skourges þat y was with smyten
- 165 How many letterus þat þer-on bene
Rede & þou may wyte & sene
ffyue þowsande fyue hundered þen
Wonþus of my body rede & wanne
ffor to shew þe of my loue-dede
- 170 My-self wyll here þe chartur rede
*O vos omnes qui transitis per viam
attendite uidete si est dolor sitis sicut
dolor meus*
- 171 ȝe men þat gon her by þe way
Beholde & se both nyȝt & day
And redeth vpon þis parchmyne
ȝyf any sorow be so gret as myn
- 175 Stonþeth & herkeneth þis chartur redde
Why y am wounded & all forbledde
- Wyten þo þat ben her & þo þat ben to
come
- That y ihesu of nazareth goddus sone
Vnþerstondeþ well ȝe þat woll abyde
- 180 That y ihesu haue a bloody syde
That borne was yn bedleem
Ouer-more offred yn-to iherusalem
The kyngus sone of heuen aboue
- 184 A mercyfull fader þat y so well loue
- 161 Ouer all the face felle the ynke
Thornys in myn hedd begynne to synke
The pennys þat þo letturs² wrytyn
Were scorges þat y was with smetyne
- 165 How many letturs that þer-on bee
Rede & þou may wytt and see
ffyue thousande .v.c fyfty & .x. than
woundes on my body rede & wane
ffor to schewe þe for my loue-dede
- 170 My-selȝ wolde here the chartyr rede
*O vos omnes qui transitis per viam
attendite & uidete si est dolor sitis sicut
dolor meus*
- 171 þe men þat gone here be þe way
Be-holdeþ & see boþe nyght & day
And redyþ vpon thys parchemyne
If eny sorowe be os grete as myne
- 175 Stondyth & herkenyþ þys chartur redd
Why y am woundedd & all for-bledd
Sciant presentes et futuri
- WETEN þo þat ben here & þo þat
be to come
That y ihesu of nazareþ godd-
is sone
vndurstondyþ well ye þat wyll abyde
- 180 That y ihesu hath a bloody syde
181 Ouer more of-redd in-to Ierusalem
182 That borne was in bedleme
The kyngys sone of heuen aboue
- 184 A mercyfull fadur þat well y loue

CAMB. UNIV. Ee. 2. 15.

- 173 And redythe vp-on þis¹ parchemyn
yef ony sorowe be so gret as myn
- 175 Stondyth an herkenyþ thys chartur
rede
Why I am woundid and all for-blede
Siant presentes et futuri
- Vndir-stondyth well ye þat wyll a-byde
- 180 That Ihesu hathe a bloody syde
That born was in bedlem
Oder more offryd in-to Ierusalem
The kyngys sone of hevyn above³
- 184 A mercifull fadyr that well I love

W Iten alle thoo that ben here
& þ^o tho þat ben to com
That I Ihesu of Nasarethe
godys son

¹ my has been deleted and þis inserted.² There is a tail after the s in this word.³ above corrected from abovyn.

CAMB. UNIV. Ii. 3. 26.

- 185 Made a sesynge whan y was bore
to mankynde that was forlore
With my chartoure in playn^e
Made to man a feffament
y haue him grauntid and y-yeue
190 In my kyngdome with me to leue
Euyr to be in heuen blisse
To haue and to holde withoutyn mysse
vppon this condicion to be kynde
And haue my wondirfull dedis in mynde
- 195 ffely to holde and frely to yelde
With all the purtenanse þat y may welde
197 In my blisse for to dwell
ffor a rent that y schall tell
My herytage þat is so fre
200 With-outyn homage othir fute
None othir rentis ax y of the
But a foure leuyd grase þou yelde to me
the firste leue ys sorow of hert ¹
the secunde leue ys verray schryfft
205 the thrid y nell no more do so
the firthe is penance y-yeued þerto
Whan this leue to gadere ys ysett
208 A trew loue men clepith hit

CAMB. UNIV. Ii. 4. 9.

- 185 I made a sessynge whane I was bore
to mankende þat was for-lore
But wyth my charture here-in presente
I make to mannes Soule a feffement
þat I haue grauntid And I-jeue
190 to mankend wyth me for to be
Pol. 46^a In my kyndome of heuene blysse
to haue and to holde wyth-owte mys
So in þis condycioun þat þou be kende
And myne wondyrful dedys to haue in
mende
- 195 frely to haue and frely to holde
wyth all þe portenaunce with þe wolde
In my blysfyl Ioye euyr to dwelle
for þe rent þat I xal þe telle
Myn herytage þat is so fre
200 for homage or for fewte
no more wyl I aske of the
But A iiij^e leued gras rent to me
þe fyrst lefe is very schryfte
þat other for þi synne thyn hert smerte
205 the iiij^e Is I wyl do no more so
þe iiij^e is the penaunce þere-to
And haue thys leuys to-gedyr be set
208 A trew loue me clepyth it

CAMB. UNIV. Ee. 2. 15.

- 185 I mad a sesonyng whan I was borne
To save mankynde that was for-lorne
Pol. 91^b But wyth my charter here present
I make to manys soule a fefment
That I have graunted an yeve
190 To mankynde wyth me for to leue
In my kyngdom of hevyn blys
- To have and to holde with-out mys
So in thys condycioun þat þou be kynde
And my wondyrfull werkys to have in
mynde
195 Frely to have and frely to holde
196 Wyth alle the portenavnce for to be
bolde

¹ In the margin opposite this line is written *nota bene*.

COTT. CALIG. A. II.

CAMB. UNIV. Ff. 2. 38.

- 185 I made a sesyng when y was borne
 To saue mankynde *þat* was forlorne
 But *with* my cha[r]tur her-yn present
 I make to mannus sowle a feffement
 That y haue *granted* & *ȝeue*
 190 To mankynde *with* me to lyue
 In my kyngdon of heuen blysse
 To haue & to holde *withowten* mysse
 With *þis* condycyon so *þat* þou be kynde
 And haue *þis* chartor euer yn mynde
 195 ffrelly to haue & ffrelly to holde
 With alle þe *pertynanse* to be bolde
 In my blesfull joye euer to dwelle
 For þe rente *þat* y shall þe telle
 Myn herytage *þat* ys so fre
 200 ffor omage or ellys for fewte
 No more woll y aske of þe
 But a fowr leued grasse *ȝelde* to me¹
 That on lef ys verry shryfte *with* hert
 That² *oper* ys for synne sorowe smerte
 205 The þryrde ys y wyll no more do so
 The fowrþe ys do þy penanse *þer-to*
 And when þese leuus *togeder* be sette
 208 A trewe loue men klepe hyt

- 185 I made a sesynge whan y was borne
 To saue mankynde *þat* was forlorne
 But *with* my chartur here-in presente
 I make to mannys soule a feffement
 That y make haue graunted & *ȝeue*
 190 To mankynde *with* me for to leue
 2nd Col.
 In my kyngdome of heuene blysse
 To haue and to holde *with-owt* mysse
 So in thys condycioun *þat* þou be kynde
 And my wonderfull workis to haue in
 mynde
 195 ffrelly to haue and ffrelly to holde
 Wyth all þe *purtenaunce* for to be bolde
 And in my blysfull yoye euer to dwell
 ffor the rente *þat* y schall þe telle
 Myn herytage that ys so free
 200 ffor homage or ellys for fealte
 Nomore wyll y aske of the
 But a foure leued grasse *ȝelde* þou me
 That oon lefe ys very schryfte of hert
 That *oper* ys for þy synne here smert
 205 The thrydd y wyll no more do soo
 The fourþe do þy penaunce mekely
þerto
 And þen þese leues to *geder* byn sett
 208 A trewe loue men callyth hyt

CAMB. UNIV. Ee. 2. 15.

- 197 And in my blysfull Ioy euer to dwelle
 ffor the rent that I shalle the telle
 Myn eritage that ys soo free
 200 ffor omage of ellys for fewte
 Nomore woll I aske of the
 But a foure leved gras *ȝelde* þou me
 That oo lefe ys verray shryfte
 That other lef ys for³ *pi* synnys here
 smert
 205 The thyrde ys I wolle no more do soo
 The fourte ys do thy penavnce mekely
þer-too
 And whan these levis to-gedir be sett
 208 A trewe loue men clepe hitt

¹ Nota in margin.² Ms. *Tath.*³ Ms. *þe* deleted before *for*.

CAMB. UNIV. Ii. 3. 26.

- 209 Of this rent be noght be-hynde
 210 Yf thou wilt to heuen wynde
 And yf þis rent þou trewly pay me
 212 My grete mercy y yeue to the

.

.

- 215

.

- 217 the¹ seele þat þis chartour was selid
 with

Was y-made at the smyth

2nd Col.

Of golde and syluyr hit is nowȝt

- 220 But of stele and yren it is wrowȝt
 With a spere my hert they stonge

þrow my lyuyr and my longe

Vppon my syde they made a wownde
 that my hart blod ran to grownde

- 225 With thre naylis they pourlid me
 throw foote and hond in-to the tre
 This selynge was dyre y-bowght
 At my hert rote hit was y-wrowȝt
 Y-temperid with fyne vermelon

- 230 On my rede blod it ran downe
 ffyue selis were sett there on

- 232 ffadir son god and man

CAMB. UNIV. Ii. 4. 9.

- 209 of thys rent be þou noughte be-hynde
 210 þe waye to heuene þane may I fende
 And if þou thys rente trewly paye me

- 212 My gret mercy I schewe the
 for if þou falle And gretly mistake
 ȝet myn charture wyl I not for-sake

- 215 ȝif þou A-mende and mercy craue
 thyne herytage sothly þoue xalt haue
 þe sealyss þat it is a-selyd wyth

they werene I-made at a smyth

of gold ne syluere be they noughte

of stele And Irone they bene wroughte
 for wyth a spere of stele myne hert þei
 stonge

thorow my sydys and thorow myne
 lounge

vppone my syde they made a wounde
 þat myn hert blood rane downe one
 grownde

- 225 And with þe nayles they bored me
 thorow feet & hondys in-to þe tre
 the selyng wexe was dere a-boughte
 at myn hert rote it was soughte
 al tempered wyth fyne vermeloun

- 230 of myn reed blood þat ranne A-downe
 ve seles bene sett vp-one

- 232 fadyr and sone god & mane

CAMB. UNIV. Ee. 2. 15.

- 209 Of thys rent be not be-hynde
 210 The way to heuyn than myght þou fynde
 And yif thys rent þou truly pay me
 My gret mercy shall I shewe the
 ffor yf thou falle & gretly mys-take
 yet my charter wylle þat I þe not forsake

- 215 Yef þou a-mende and mercy craue
 Thyn herytage sothely shalt thou have
 The seelyss that it ys a selyd wythe
 They were made of a smyth
 Of golde ne syluer be they nought
 220 Of Stele and yryn they² wern wrought

¹ This was written first, and then cancelled.

² Ms. *be* deleted before *they*.

COTT. CALIG. A. II.

CAMB. UNIV. Ff. 2. 38.

209 Of þis rente be not behynde
 210 The way to heuen þen may þou fynde
 And ȝyf þou trewely þis rente pay me
 My grete mercy þen shall y shewe þe
 ffor ȝyf þou falle & grettely mystake
 ȝyt my charter wyll not þat y þe forsake

215 ȝyf þou amende & mercy craue
 Thyn erytage sobly þen shalt þou haue

The sele þat hit ys a-seled wyth
 Hyt was made at no smyȝth
 Of golde ne syluer ys hit nowȝth
 220 Ne stele ny yren ys hit of wroȝth
 But with a spere my hert was stongen

Thorow my syde & thorow my longen
 Vpon my syde þat made a wonde
 þat my hert blode ran down to þe
 grownde

225 And with yren naylys þey boressed me
 Thorw fote & honde yn-to þe tre
 The sesynge wax was dere y-bowȝt

Alle myn herte rote hit was y-sowȝt
 All y-compered with fyn vermelen

230 Of my rede blode þat ran adown
Factum est cor meum tanquam liques-
sens in medio uentris mei
 ffyue seles be sette þervpon

232 ffadyr & sone god & mon

209 Of thys rente be not be-hynde
 210 The wey to heuene þene mytt þou fynde
 And yf þou þys rente trewly pay me
 My grete mercy wole y schewe þe
 ffor yf þou falle & gretly mystake
 If my chartour wole þat y þe not
 forsake

215 If þou amende and mercy craue
 Thyn herytage sobely þen schalt þou
 haue

The selys þat hyt ys selyd with
 They were made at a smyȝth
 Of golde ne syluyr be þey noght
 220 Of stele and yren they were wroght
 ffor with a spere of stele my hert was
 stongen

Thorow my syde & thorow my longene
 Vpon my syde þey made a wounde
 That my herte blode ran to grounde

225 And with yren nayles they bored me
 Thorow fete & hondes in-to þe tre
 The sesynge was dere y-boght

Fol. 41^b
 At my herte rote hyt was y-soght
 All tempurd with fyne vermyloun
 230 Of my redd blood þat rane a-downe
ffactum est cor meum tanquam cera li-
quescens in medio ventris mei
 ffyue celys put ther-one

232 ffadur and sone god & man

CAMB. UNIV. Ee. 2. 15.

221 ffor with a spere of stele myn hert was
 stongen

Thorowe my syde and þorough my longen
 Op-on my syde they made a wovnde
 That myn herte blood ran to þe grovnde

225 And wyth yryn naylys they boredyn me
 Thorowe feet and handys in-to the tre

And selyng wex was dere I-bought
 At myn hert rote it was sought

Fol. 92^a
 Alle I-temperyd wythe fyn vermylone¹
 230 Of my red blode that ran a-dovne
ffactum est cor meum tanquam cera li-
quessens in medio ventrys mei

Fyyve selys been set ther-vp-on
 ffadyr and sonne god and man

¹ The Chartur is written in the margin.

CAMB. UNIV. Ii. 3. 26.

233 the fythe that y louyd meste
 that y come of holy goste
 235 And there-fore þou myste well yse
 that y am a man of grete poteste
 Of playne power þat y myght make
 A crowne of thornys they did me take
 And that be-toknyth that y am kyng

240 And frely meȝ yeue my owne thyng
 And that reportid the iewis all
 On kneys by-fore me did they fall

lorde they seyde in her skōrnyng
 Hayle be thou lord iewis kyng

245 By-twyxte to theuys þe chartour was
 selid

both were seke that othir was helid

248

250

251 Derewardly me thurstyd sore

253 Eysell and gall þey toke me thore
 252 this was the drynke they toke to me

254 Such drynke ax y none of the
 But that thou louy well thi fone

256 Othir drynke ax y none

CAMB. UNIV. Ii. 4. 9.

233 þe fyrst þat is to be-leue most
 þat I cam of þe holy gost

235 And þerre-for here may þou see
 þat I ame kyng of gret poste
 In playne pover thy state to make
 A crowne of thornes one myn hede here
 I take

thys crowne be-tokenyth þat I am kyng
 240 And frely may þeue myne owene thyng
 Wyttenessyth the iewes Alle
 one knees they gunne be-fore me downe
 falle

And lowde Seyd in hyr skornyng
 All heyll be þou iewes kyng

245 Be-twene ij Iewys þis chartour was
 Selyd

fol. 47^a Both were syk the one was helyd
 Be-twene to iewes was I putt

248 Ihesus hygh & kyng of ryghte
Explicit feoffomente Ihesus

CAMB. UNIV. Ee. 2. 15.

233 The fyfte þat ys beleve mvst

That I come of the holy goost

235 And ther-fore here may þou now see
 That I am a kyng of grete postee
 In pleyne power thy state to make
 A crowne of thornys on myn hed I take

Thys crowne be-tokenyth þat I am
 kyng

240 And frely may yeve the þin owyn thyng
 Thys witnessyth the Iewys alle
 On knese the gonne be-fore me falle
 And lowde seyde in here skornyng
 244 Alle hayle be thou lorde of Iewys kyng

COTT. CALIG. A II.

CAMB. UNIV. Ff. 2. 38.

- | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>3 The fyfte ys þat þou beleue most
That y kam of þe holy goste
5 And perfor her may þou now se
That y am a kyng of gret powste
In playn power þy state to make
A crowne of þornys on my hedde y take
Thys crowne betokeneþ þat y am kyng
240 And frely may þef myn owene þyng
Thys wytnessed þe jewys alle
On kneus þey gan before me falle
And lowde sayde yn her skornyng
All hayle lorde & of jewes þe kyng
245 Betwene two þeuus þis charter was seled
Boþe wer seke þat on was heled
Betwene two theuus hyȝe y-pyght
In token þat y was lord of myȝth
This be tokeneth both good & yll
250 At þe day of dome how y may saue or
spyll
Well drye y was & thursted sore
But of such drynk myȝth y no more
ffor aysell & galle þey þef to me
But on drynke aske y of þe
255 That þou be louyng towards þy fone
256 Oþer drynke of þe aske y non</p> | <p>233 The fyrste þat be-leue muste
That y come of the holy goste
235 And therfore here may þou now see
That y am kyng of prete² pouste
In playne power þey sate³ to make
A crowne of þornys on my hedde y take
Thys be-tokenyth þat y was kyng
240 And frely may yeue þyn owne thyng
Thys wytnessyth þe yewes all
On knees þey can be-fore me falle
And lowde seyde in ther scornynge
All heyle be þou of yewes kyng
245 Betwene ij theues þe chartur was selyd
Bothe were syke that oon was helydd
Betwene ij theues on hye y-pyght
In tokyn þat y was kyng of myght
Thys be-tokenyth bothe goode & ylle
250 At þe day of dome to saue or spylle

Well drye y was y⁴ thursted sore
But of soche drynke myȝt y no more
ffor eysell and galle they yaf to me
But oon drynke y aske of thee
255 That þou be louyng toward þy foone
256 Other drynke of the aske y noone</p> |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

CAMB. UNIV. Ee. 2. 15.

- | | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>245 Be-twene two thevys þis chartur ys selyd
Bothe were syke that oon was helyd
Be-twen two thevys on hyȝe I-pyght
I tokyn that I was lorde of myght
Thys be-tokenyth bothe good and ille
250 At the day of dome to save or¹ spille</p> | <p>Well dry I was I thrusted sore
But of suche drynke myght I no more
For eysylle and galle they yaffe to me
But oo drynke aske I of thee
253 That þou be lovynge toward thy foon
256 Other drynke of the aske I noon</p> |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

¹ Ms. *and* deleted and *or* inserted.² Thus the ms. *Grete*?³ Thus the ms. Doubtless an error for *state*.⁴ *y* is inserted above the line.

CAMB. UNIV. Ii. 3. 26.

CAMB. UNIV. Ii. 4. 9.

- 257 Yf thou loue me haue this *in* mynde
 And to thy enemy loke þou be kynde
 Ensample þou myȝt se by me
 260 ffor loue of my foes y honge on tre
 Be mercyfull y bydd the
 And on thyne enemyes haue pite
 And as y do by thyne do þou by myne
 264 y-sauyd yf þou wolt be fro hell pyne
 a Yf þou do as y the telle
 b Y warant the fro the paynys of hell ¹

Fol. 236^b

- 265 And that witnysseth mo than one
 Mark luke mathu and Iohne
 And namely my moder swete
 that for me the bloody teris did lete
 There sche stode vndir the rode
 270 he sey my body all in blode
 ffram the foote vp to the hedd
 there was noght ellis but blod reede
 273 No word to me myght sche speke
 274 Hit semyd hir hert to breke

.

- 277 ffor sorow of hir y made a crye
 278 And seyde *Eloy lamazabatany* ²

CAMB. UNIV. Ee. 2. 15.

- | | |
|------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|
| 257 Yf thou me loue have thys in mynde | And as I doo do thou thyne |
| To thyn enemyis be thou ryght kynde | 264 Savid shall þou þanne be from helle-
pyne |
| Ensample þou myght take here of me | |
| 260 ffor love of my foon I honge on tree | |
| To my fader I pray the | here been witnesse more thanne oon |
| Vp on myn enemyes thou have pete | 266 Marcke Mathewe luke and Iohn |

¹ These lines occur in this ms. only.² See p. xxxiv for mark of ownership at the end of this folio.

COTT. CALIG. A. II.

CAMB. UNIV. Ff. 2. 38.

257 ȝef þou me loue haue þis yn mynde
To þy enemyes be þou ryght kynde
Ensaumpull þou myȝt take her of me

260 For loue of my fone y honge on tre
But my fadyr y pray the
Vpon my enemyes þat þou haue pyte
And as y do. do þou to þyne
Then saued shalt þou be fro helle pyne

.
.

265 He ben wytnesses mo þen on
Marke mathew luke & jon
And namely my modyr swete
That for me bloody teres gan lete
ffor þer she stode vnþer þe rode

270 She sawe my body all on blode
That fro my foot vnto my hedde
I was not ellys but blode reed
No worde to me myȝth she speke
Hit semed well her hert wolde breke

275 No wonþer hit was þowȝ she wer woo
When she sawe me on þe crosse so y-do
ffor sorow of her y made a cry

278 And sayde well lowde *hely lamazabatany*

257 If þou me loue haue þys in mynde
To thyn enemyes be þou kynde
Ensaumpull þou myȝt take here of me

260 ffor loue of my foon y honge on a tre
But mercy fadur y prey the
Vpon myn enemyes haue þou petee
And as y do do thou to thyne

264. Sauyd schalt þou be fro helle pyne

.
.

2nd Col.

265 Here byn wytnesse mo than oone
Marke mathewe luke and Iohne
And namely my moder swete
That for my body teres can lete
ffor there sche stode vndur þe rode

270 Sche sawe my body all on bloodd
That fro my fote vnto my hedd
I was noght ellys but all blode redd
Hyt semeth well hur herte wold breke
No worde to me þere myȝt sche speke ¹

275 No wondur hyt was þowe sche were wo
When sche sawe me on crosse y-doo
ffor sorowe of hur y made a crye

278 And seyde well lowde *hely lamazbatani*

CAMB. UNIV. Ee. 2. 15.

Fol. 92^b

267 And namely my ¹ modir swete
That for me bloody terys gan lete
ffor there she stode vndir the rode

270 She sawe my bodi alle on bloode
That froo my foot vn-to myn hed
I was not ellys but alle blode reed

It semed wele here herte wolde breke
No worde to me þer myȝt she speke ²

275 No wonder it was þowe she were woo
Whan she me sawe on the crosse I-doo
ffor sorowe of hyr I made a cry

278 And seyde full lowde *Eli lamazabathani*

¹ Ms. *na* deleted before *my*.

² Lines 273 and 274 are here inverted from the order of their occurrence in the other MSS.

CAMB. UNIV. II. 3. 26.

CAMB. UNIV. II. 4. 9.

- 279 Anon sche fill downe in sownynge
 280 By-fore me at my daynge
 the paynys that y hadd were ful sore
 ffor my modir they were the more

 285

 the peynes that he sufferd were smert
 the swyrde of sorow peryschid my hert
 And when seynt Johone y hir by-toke
 290 Sche caste on me a sory loke
 As thowȝe y had hir forsake
 And anothir sone had hir y-take
 ȝit ar the chartour selyd was
 ffor-soth sche sayde alas alas
 295 Vppon my schuldir y leyde my hed
 When y drowen to be dede
 Y was so bare of worldly goode
 What y schulde day vppon the roode
 I nadde whare-with for to take
 300 Reste my hedd for to make
 Poure man haue this in mynde
 302 Whan þou in worlde no rest myst fynde

CAMB. UNIV. Ee. 2. 15.

- A -None she fell downe in swownyng
 280 There to-fore me at my dyeng
 The peynys þat I suffred were full sore
 But for my modyr þey were the more
 Whan I leyde myn hed here & there
 My modyr chavnged alle hyr chere
 285 ffyl fayne she wolde have holpyn me
 But for the Iewys it myght not be
 The peynys þat I had were full smerte
 The swerde of sorowe perished hyr herte
 Whanne seynt Iohn I here be-toke
 290 She cast on me a drery loke

COTT. CALIG. A. II.

CAMB. UNIV. Ff. 2. 38.

279 Anon she fell down yn swonyng
 280 Ther be-for me at my dyng
 The paynus þat y suffred wer full sore
 But for my moder þe wer well more
 When y layde my hedde her & þer
 My moper changed all he[r] chere
 285 ffull fayn she wolde haue holpen me
 But for þe jewys hit myzt not be
 The paynus þat y hadde wer full smert
 The swerde of sorow persedde her hert
 When seyn john y her betoke
 290 She caste on me a drwly loke
 As þowȝ y hadde her all forsake
 And to an-oþer sone her be-take
 And or þis charter wryten þus was
 ffull ofte she sayde Alas Alas
 295 Vpon my shuldur y layde myn hedde
 When y þrowȝ faste vnto my deed
 ffor so bare y was of worldly gode
 When y schulde dye vpon þe rode
 That y ne hadde wher-of to take
 300 Reste to myne hedde wher-of to make
 Pouer & ryche haue þis yn mynde
 302 When þou yn þis worlde no reste kan
 fynde

279 Anon sche felle downe in swownyng
 280 There be-fore me at my dying
 The peynes þat y suffurde were full sore
 But for my modur þey were þe more
 When y leyde myn hedd here & þere
 my modur chaunged all hur chere
 285 ffull fayne sche wolde haue holpen me
 But for þe yewes hyt myght not be
 Peynes þat sche suffurde were full smert
 The swerde of sorowe perysched hur hert
 When to seynt Iohn y hur be-toke
 290 Sche caste on me a drery loke
 As thowe y had hur all for-sake
 And anothur sone y had be-take
 But or þys chartur þus wreten was
 Well ofte sche seyde allas allas
 295 Vpon my schouldur y leyde my hedd
 Whan y drowe faste vn-to my dedd
 ffor so bare y was of worldly goode
 When y schulde dye vpon the rode
 That y ne hadd where-of to take
 300 Reste to myn hedd for to make
 Pore and ryche for to haue in mynde
 302 Whan þou in þe worlde no reste may
 fynde

CAMB. UNIV. Ee. 2. 15.

291 As thowe I had ¹ here alle for-sake
 And another sonne I had here be-take
 And or thys chartur thus wretyn was
 Wele ofte she sayde alas alas
 295 Vp-on my shulder I leyde myn hede
 Whan I drowe faste vn-to my dede

ffor soo bare was I of worldly ² good
 Whanne I schulde dye vp-on the rood
 That I ne hadde wher-of to take
 300 Rest to myn hede for to make
 Power and ryche have evir in Mynde
 302 Whan þou in the worlde no reste may
 fynde

¹ The scribe repeated the words *I had* and then deleted them.

² Corrected from *worldlys*.

CAMB. UNIV. II. 3. 26.

CAMB. UNIV. II. 4. 9.

- 303 Whate rest y had for loue of the
 Whan y was naylid on the tree
 305 Well thow mayste wyte y had none
 ffor y was a-monge my foene
 When thow art a-monge thy foen browth¹
 Be redy to suffre *with* all py thought
 To stonde at the barre hit is ful hard
 310 As þou art worthi to take þy reward
 311 Yf thow for me suffre wronge
 þou schalt stonde *in* my ryȝt honde
 Yf þou vengiste þe on thi brothir
 þou schalt stonde *in* that othir

2nd Col.

- 315 Yf thow wolt the soth schewe
 As thow louyste thow schalt owe
 thowȝe y be neuyr so full of woo
 ȝyt of this worlde y moste goo
 In paynes of deth y am now bownde
 320 My sowle wull passe *withyn* this stownde
 By-holde man *with* hert and eye
 ffor thy loue how y schall deye²
 I honge on crosse for loue of the
 fforsake thy synnes for loue of me
 325 Mercy asketh a-mendis sone
 326 And for-ȝeue y woll all þat is mysdone

CAMB. UNIV. Ee. 2. 15.

- | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 303 What rest I had oonly for the | To stonde at barre it ys wele harde |
| Whanne I hynde nayled vp-on the tree | 310 As ben worthy to take rewarde |
| 305 Wele may thowe knowe that I hadde
noon ³ | Thou shalt for me suffre wronge
Thou shalt ben sothely on my ryȝt
honde |
| For there I was a-monge my foon
And whanne thou a-monge thy foon art
brouȝt | And þou þat wengyst the vppon þi
brothyr |
| Be redy to suffre wyth alle thi thouȝt | 314 There stodyst thou not but on that other |

¹ *Exm* (*Exemplum*) is written in the margin.² *Expirauit* is written in the margin.³ *The Chartur* is here written in the margin.

COTT. CALIG. A. II.

CAMB. UNIV. Ff. 2. 38.

- 303 What reste y hadde only for þe
When y henge nayled vpon a tre
- 305 Well may þou knowe þat y hadde none
ffor ther y was among my fone
And when þou among þy fone art browȝt
Be redy to suffre with all þy þowȝt
To stonde at þe barre hit ys well harde
- 310 As ȝe bene worþy to take rewarde
Thou þat for me sufferest wronge
þou shalt stonde on my riȝt honde
And þou þat vengest þe on þy brodyr
- Ther stondeþ þou not but on þat odyr
- 315 ȝyf þu wyll þe soþe knowe
Ryȝth as þou sowest so sha[l]t þu mowe
- I fele me now so full of wo
That out of þis worlde y moste go
With peynus of þeth harde am y bownde
- 320 My soule shall passe her yn a stounde
Beholde now mon with herte & ye
ffor þy loue how y shall dye
I honge on crosse for loue of þe
ffor-sake þe synne for loue of me
- 325 Mercy þou aske & amende þe sone
- 326 And y woll forȝyf þat þou hast mysdone
- 303 What reste y had oonly for the
Fol. 42^a When y hynge naylyd vpon a tree
- 305 Well may þou know þat y had none
ffor there y was amonge my foone
And when þou among þy foon art broght
Be redy to suffur wyth all yowre þoght
To stonde at the barre hyt ys full harde
- 310 As ye be worthy to take rewarde
Thou þat for me suffurste wronge
Thou schalt be soþely on my ryȝt honde
And þou that vengest the vpone þy
brodur
- There stondeþ þou not but on þat othur
- 315 If thou wylt the sothe knowe
Soche as þou sowest soche schalt þou
mowe
- I fele me now so full of woo
That owt of þe worlde y muste go
With peynes of dethe harde am y bounde
- 320 My soule schall passe here in þys stounde
Be-holde now man wyth herte & eye
ffor thy loue how y schall dye
I honge on crosse for loue of the
ffor-sake thy synne for loue of me
- 325 Mercy aske and amende þe sone
- 326 And y ¹ for-yeue þe that ys mysdoone

CAMB. UNIV. Ee. 2. 15.

- 315 Yef thou wolt the sothe to knowe
Ryȝth as þou sowyst suche shalt þou
mowe
- I fele me nowe so fulle of woo
That out of this worlde I mvst goo
Wyth peynys of deth hard am I bovinde
- 320 My soule shall passe here in this stovnde
- 321 Be-holde nowe man wyth herte and ȝȝe
For thy loue howe I shalle dye
- I honge on crosse for loue of the
ffor-sake thy synne for loue of me
- 325 Mercy aske and amende the soone
And I for-yeve þe that ys mysdoone

¹y is inserted above the line.

CAMB. UNIV. Ii. 3. 26.

327 fful mercyfull y am trewly
to hem that woll my mercy cry

330
he that woll no mercy craue
Of me no mercy schall he haue

335
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.
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340
To hell y went þis chartour to schew
By-fore sathanas þat grete schrew

345 there y covennant y-made was
By-twyxte me and sathanas
All my catell to take a-way
that he had by fals pray
The thrid day y a-ros and made a faste
350 Both to the meste and eke to þe leste

CAMB. UNIV. Ii. 4. 9.

CAMB. UNIV. Ee. 2. 15.

327 ffor fulle of mercy I am trevly
To alle that crye mercy
What shall it greve to repent the
330 And in endles Ioy to dwelle wyth me
ffor thoo that wolle no mercy crye ¹
They shalle to helle whanne they
shalle dye

Nowe whanne I have oo worde spoke
Myn yȝen to-gedyr I must loke
335 Thou synfull man have pitee on me
ffor thyn owyn soule pur charyte
Thys worde I mvst nedys speke
338 And thanne myn herte shall to-breke

¹ Ms. *craue* was written before *crye* and then cancelled.

COTT. CALIG. A. II.

CAMB. UNIV. Ff. 2. 38.

- 327 ffor full of mercy y am trewly
 To all þo þat woll cryn for mercy
 What shall hit greue to repente þe
 330 And yn endeles joye to dwelle *with* me
 ffor þo þat woll no mercy crye
 They go to helle when þey shall dye
 Now when y haue oo worde spoken
 My yen togeder y most lokene
 335 Now synfull man haue pyte on me
 ffor þy owene sowle for charyte
 Thys worde y most neþus speke
 And þen myn herte shall to-breke
Consummatum est þis chartur ys done
 340 Man now hast þou ouercome þy fone
 Anon to helle y went þis charter to
 shewe
 Before sathanas þat mykyll shrewe
 Thus y hym shent & browȝt to grounde
 Thorow my paynes of spytuus wounde
 345 And after a couenante made þer was
 Betwene me & sathanas
 All my catell to haue a-way
 That he be-rafte me *with* his play
 The þrydde day y rose & made a feste
 350 To þe moste & to þe leste

- 327 ffor full of mercy y am trewly
 To all tho that cryen mercy
 What schall hyt greue to repente þe
 330 And in endeles yoye to dwelle *with* me
 ffor tho þat wyll no mercy crye
 They schall to helle when þey schall dye
 Now when y haue oon worde y-spoke
 Myn eyen to-gedur y muste looke
 335 Thou synfull man haue pete on me
 ffor thyn owne soule for charyte
 Thys worde y muste nedys speke
 And then myn herte schall all to-breke
Consummatum est Thys chartur ys done
 340 Man now haste þou ouercome all þy
 foone
 A-none y went to helle þys to schewe
 Be-fore sathanas þat moche schrewe
 2nd Col.
 There y hym schent & broght to grounde
 Thorow my nayles a spetous wounde
 345 Aftur a couenaunt made ther was
 Be-twene me and sathanas
 All my catell to haue a-wey
 That he be-rafte me be hys play
 The thrydde day y rose & made a feste
 350 To the moost and to the leste

CAMB. UNIV. Ee. 2. 15.

- 339 *Consummatum est* thys chartur ys doon
 Fol. 93^b
 340 Man nowe hast þou over-come alle thy
 foon
 A-noon to helle I went thys chartur to
 shewe
 By-fore sathanas þat moyche shrewe
 There I hym shent and brought to
 grounde
 Thorough my naylys and spituous
 wounde
 345 And after a covenauant made there was
 Be-twene me and sathanas
 Alle my catell to have a-way
 That he be-rafte me wyth hys play
 The thryd day I roos and made a feste
 350 To the most and to the leeste

CAMB. UNIV. Ii. 3. 26.

- 351 the feste is both ioy and blisse
 Easter day y-clepyd hit is
 Saue a denture y bere *with* me
 Whare-of þou schalt sycoure be
 355 In the preste-is honde flesch and blode
 ffor the was naylyd vppon the rode
 Ho-so beleuyth very there-vppon
 Endeles payne schall haue none

.

- 361 A well fayre sygne y leuyd also
 A token of the crosse þat y was *in* do
 To bere *with* the where-euyr þou go
 the to sauy fro thy foe
 365 Nowe to my fadir schall y wende
 His will y haue browȝt to ende
 I take my leue as ye seyne
 At the day of dome y come a-ȝen
 Man to deme aftir his werke
 370 As is the by-leue of holy cherch
 And euyr aftir in ioy to dwell
 to be saue fro the peyne of hell

Fol. 237

- Saue a cote armour y bere *with* me
 374 the which y toke to lyuery the

CAMB. UNIV. Ii. 4. 9.

CAMB. UNIV. Ee. 2. 15.

- | | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>351 That feste was of Ioye and blys
 Ester day clepid it ys
 One endentur I left <i>with</i> the
 Where-of thou shalt evir sekyr be
 355 In the prestys honde my fleshe my blode
 That for the was honged on þe roode</p> | <p>Who-so-evir þat beleveth ther-on
 Endlese peyne shall he fynde noon
 Alle-though I dye yet dyeth not he
 360 ffor vppe shall he ryse and leve <i>with</i> me
 And a wel fayre sygne I toke the here
 also
 A tokene of the crosse that I was on doo</p> |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

COTT. CALIG. A. II.

- 351 The feste was of joye & blys
 Estur day called hit ys
 Oon endentur y lafte *with þe*
 Wher-of þou shalt euer sykur be
 355 In þe preestus honde my flessch & blode
 That for þe was honged on þe rode
 Ho-so-euer hit be *þat* beleueth *þer-on*
 Endeles payne shall he fynde none
 All-þowþe y dye ȝet dyeth not he
 360 For vp shall he ryse & leue *with me*
 A well fayr syngne y toke *þe* her also

A token of þe crosse *þat* y was on do
 To bere *with þe* wher-euer þou go
 To saue þe euer fro þy fo

- 365 To my fader now moste y go
 ffor all hys wyll now haue y do
 Her y take my leue ȝo haue me seyne
 At þe day of dome y come agayne
 Mon to dome aftyr hys werke
 370 Thys ys to beleue of all holy kyrke
 And euer after yn joye to dwelle
 Saued to be fro þe paynes of helle
 But a kote Armour y ber her *with me*
 374 The whych y toke of þy lyuere

CAMB. UNIV. Ff. 2. 38.

- 351 The feste was yoye and blysse
 Estur day clepyd hyt ys
 Won enture y lafte wyth the
 Where-of þou schalt eyur seker bee
 355 In preestes honde my flesche & blood
 That for þe was honged on þe roode
 Who-so-eyur hyt be *þat* leueþ *þer-one*
 Endeles deþe schall he fynde noone
 All-thogh y dye ȝyt dyeth not he
 360 ffor vp he schall ryse & leue *with me*
 And a well feyre sygne y toke *þe* here &

so

A tokyn of þe crosse *þat* y was on doo
 To bere *with þe* so wyde thou goo
 To saue the euer fro thy foo

- 365 To my fadur y muste goone
 ffor all hys wyll y haue done
 Here y take my leue ye haue me seyñ
 At þe day of dome y come a-geyne
 Man to deme aftyr hys wyrke
 370 Thys ys the wyll of hooly kyrke
 And euer aftur in yoye to dwelle
 Sauydd for to be fro þe peynys of helle
 But a cote armour y bere here *with me*
 374 The whych y toke of thy lyuere

CAMB. UNIV. Ee. 2. 15.

- 363 To bere wyth the so whedyr thou goo
 To save the evir fro thy foo
 365 To my fader I mvust goon
 ffor alle hys wyll I have doon
 here I take my leve ȝe have me seyñ
 368 At the day of dome I come ageyne

- Man to deme after hys werke
 370 Thys ys the wyll of alle holy kyrke
 And evir after in Ioye to dwelle
 Savid for to be fro the peynys of helle
 But a cote armvre I bere here *with me*
 374 The wiche I toke of thy levery

CAMB. UNIV. Ii. 3. 26.

CAMB. UNIV. Ii. 4. 9.

- 375 The cote is ryche and fyne
 Hit is y-wrowȝt of rede satyne
 A well fayre mayde me hit reȝt
 And oute of hir bosom y hit broȝt
 Hit is y-pouderyd *with* roses rede
- 380 Woundes y poureled whan y was dede
 And whan y come a-yen to the
 By the cote þou schalt know me
 Ye that buth of rent be-hynde
 And habbeth me noght *in* mynde

2nd Col.

- 385 Sore mowe ye be a-drade
 Whan this chartour schall be radd
 Of the Iustyse be well ware
 Certeyse he nell no man spare

- 390
 Power *with* my fadir y haue
 to saue all hem that woll me craue

- 395

- 398

CAMB. UNIV. Ee. 2. 15.

- | | |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>375 The cote ys ryche¹ and well fyne
 The chavmpe ys nowe of rede Sathyn
 A wele fayre mayde me it ought
 And out of here boure I it brout</p> | <p>And whanne I come ageyne to the
 By thys clothynge may þou knowe me
 Thoo that ben of thys rent be-hynde
 And these woundys wole not have in
 mynde</p> |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
- Fol. 94^a
- | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>380 With woundys that I suffrede thorowe
 peynes of dede</p> | <p>385 Wele sore they shalle dyen a-dradde
 Whanne thys chartyr shall be radde</p> |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

¹ *Fyne* was first written and cancelled.

COTT. CALIG. A. II.

CAMB. UNIV. Ff. 2. 38.

375 The kote ys both ryche & fyne
 The campe ys now of rede satyne
 A well fayr mayde hit towzte
 And out of her bowr y hit browzte
 Powdered hit ys now *with* fyfe roses rede

380 With wonþus þat y þoled with paynes
 of dede

And when y come aʒeyn to þe
 Be my cloþyng þou mayst knowe me

And þo þat ben of þer rente behynde
 And þes wondus woll not haue y mynde

385 ffull sore shall þey be a-ferde
 When þis chartur shall be redde
 Of þe hyʒ iustys be þey full ware
 For þere shall he non spare
 ffor all þat euer þou hast wroʒth

390 ffro þy yowth þen shall be sowʒth
 But power of my fader y haue
 To saue all þo þat mercy wyll craue
 And pay þy rente ʒyf þu haue space
 ʒyf þou of me wolte haue grace

395 And yf þou dye full soþenly
 Vpon þy sowle y shall haue mercy
 A couenaunt ys made betwen vs to

398 As y haue do so most þou do

375 The cote ys ryche & well fyne
 Thè champe ys now of redd satyne
 A well feyre mayde me hyt oght
 And owt of hur bowre y hyt broght
 Poudurd hyt ys *with* .v. rosys red[d]¹

380 With woundes þat y suffurd þorow
 pey[n]es of [de]dd

And when y come ageyne to the
 Be thys cloþyng may þou knowe mee

Fol. 42^b

Tho þat byn of rente be-hynde
 And þese woundys wole not haue in
 mynde

385 Well sore they schull be adredd
 Whan thys chartur schall be radd
 Of þe hye iustyce be þou full ware
 ffor-sothe þere schall y noon spare
 ffor all þy synne þat þou haste wroght

390 ffrom thy youthe þey schall be soght
 But power of my fadur y haue
 To saue all tho that mercy craue
 And paye þy rente yf þou haue space
 If thou wyll of me haue grace

395 And yf thou dye full sodenlye
 Vpon þy soule y schall haue mercy
 A couenaunt y made be-twene vs two

398 As y haue done so muste þou doo

CAMB. UNIV. Ee. 2. 15.

387 Of the hyʒe Iustyse be they full ware
 ffor-sothe there shall be no spare
 ffor alle thi synne that þou hast wrought
 390 ffrom thy youthe they shall be sought
 But power of my fader I have
 To save alle thoo that mercy crave

And pay thi rent yf þou haue space
 And yef thou wilte of me haue grace
 395 And yif þou dye ffull sodeynly
 Vppon thy soule I shall haue mercy
 A couinavnte ys made be-twene vs twoo
 398 As I haue doon so mvst thou doo

¹ Blurred in the MS.

CAMB. UNIV. Ii. 3. 26.

CAMB. UNIV. Ii. 4. 9.

.
 400

 405

409 there-fore y rede pay well *your* rent
 410 that with the fende ye be not schent
 With mochill ioie þan schall ye come
 And *in* my blysse than schal ye wone
 to that blysse he may vs brynge
 414 that made of noȝt all maner thyng
 Explicit Carta ihesa Christi

CAMB. UNIV. Ee. 2. 15.

<p> Loke what thy pater noster seythe þe too¹ 400 Ryght as I for-yeve for-yeve thou moo Do ther-after yif thou wylte So that thy soule be nat spilte </p>	<p> Vp-on alle holy writte I may put me Whether I be curteys or noon to thee 405 Be thou lered or be thou lewde The way to hevyn I have the shewed </p>
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¹ Ms. *the too the* was written first, then altered.

COTT. CALIG. A. II.

Loke what þy pater noster sayth to þe
 400 Lyke as y forȝeue forȝyf þou me
 Do þeraftur ȝyf þat þou wylte
 So þat þy sowle be not spylte
 Vpon all holy wryte y may put me
 Wheþer y be curteys or not to þe
 405 Be þou lered or be þou lewed
 The weye to heuen y haue þe shewed
 Be þe tyxte of holy wryte
 In what place þou wolte seke hyt
 Therfor y bydde þe pay þe rente
 410 That *with* þe fende þou be not shente
 Wyth me to blysse þen þou shalt come
 And yn my blysse þou shalt wone
 To þat blysse y may þe brynge
 414 That of nowȝte made þe & all þyng
 Ihesu yn þat holy place
 Graunte¹ vs to se þy holy face Amen
 Explicit

CAMB. UNIV. Ff. 2. 38.

Loke what thy pater noster seȝþ to the
 400 Ryght² as y forȝeue for-ȝeue þou mee
 Do ther-aftur yf thou wylte
 So that thy soule be not spylte
 Vpon all holy wrytt y may put me
 Whedur þat y be curtes or not to the
 405 Be thou lernedd or be þou lewde
 The wey to heuene y haue þe schewde
 By the tyxte of hooly wrytt
 In what place thou wylte seke hyt
 Therefore y bydd the pay the rente
 410 That *with* þe fende þou be not schente
 With me to blysse thou schalt come
 And in my blysse þou schalt wone
 To blysse y may the brynge
 414 That of noght made all thyng

CAMB. UNIV. Ee. 2. 15.

<p> 407 Bi the tyxte of holy wrytte In what place þou wilte seke ite Ther-fore I byd the pay thy rent 410 That wyth the fende þou be not shent </p>	<p> Wyth me to blysse thou shalt come And in my blysse thou shalt wone To that blysse I may the brynge 414 That of nought made alle thyng Amen </p>
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¹ In the ms. the sign for *ra* occurs above the *n*.

² *y* was written after *Ryght* and then deleted.

APPENDIX I

OBSERVATIONS ON THE LANGUAGE OF THE LONG AND SHORT CHARTERS

These observations are based, in each case, upon what I have judged to be the critical reading of the text. Cases where it has been plainly impossible to determine the critical reading have been ignored, and those where a reasonable doubt exists have been especially noticed. The evidence for the pronunciation of final *e* in the *Short Charter* and in the B-text of the *Long Charter* is not offered as conclusive, since in the opinion of the writer there are too many doubtful readings and corrupt lines to enable one to rely upon the results of the tests. In the case of the A-text of the *Long Charter*, however, it is hoped that the results are reliable, since the manuscripts, in most cases, enable one to arrive at the reading of the original.

THE LONG CHARTER, A-TEXT

§ 1. FINAL *e*.

A. Rhyme words.

Words ending, in Anglo-Saxon, in final *e*, rhyme only with others so ending, except in the following cases:¹

- I. *blod* O-stem, acc. sing. } in two instances,
 rod A-stem, acc. sing. } 77-78; 207-208.
fode Wk. stem, acc. sing. } 59-60.
 blode O-stem, acc. sing. }

¹ Doubtful cases are (a) *hylle* (M. Jo-stem, acc. sing.)—*ylle* (Scand. *illr*) 163-164; and (b) *lyf-lyf* (O-Stem, acc. sing.) 45-46, where it is doubtful whether the first *lyf* is noun or adjective. I find no example elsewhere of *lyf* as an adjective. *Adoun*, as in the *Troilus* (cf. Kit-tredge, *Observ. Ch. Soc. Ser. 2*, xxviii, 201, note 1) takes no final *e*. See 9 where it rhymes with *toun* (acc.), and 146, where it rhymes with *vermylon* (OFr. *vermillon*).

<i>frende</i>	M. Cons. stem, acc. sing.	} 233-234.
<i>ende</i>	M. Jo-stem, acc. sing.	
<i>blis</i>	Ja-stem, acc.	} 203-204.
<i>ys</i>	Pres. Indic. 3rd sing.	

II. Rhymes containing *weyë*:²

(by the) <i>weye</i>	O-stem, acc.	} 93-94.
<i>ye</i>	N. Wk. stem, acc.	
(in the) <i>way</i>	O-stem, acc.	} 65-66.
<i>pray</i>	OFr. <i>proie</i> , <i>preie</i>	

III. Containing a petrified dative:

(to) <i>grounde</i>	O-stem, dat. sing.	} 191-192.
<i>wounde</i>	A-stem, acc. sing.	

B. Final *e* in the Interior of the Line.

The following cases exist of final *e* pronounced in the interior of the line; when sounded before a vowel or *h*, it is marked by an asterisk:

I. Nouns, Singular.

A-Stems.

(a) nom. sing.	(b) in compounds.
<i>lawë</i> , 14.	<i>soulë</i> -fode, 59.
<i>louë</i> , 53.	<i>louë</i> -dede(s), 62, 91, 114.
	<i>louë</i> -drynk, 167.

Ja-Stems.

(a) acc. sing.	(b) in compound.
<i>blissë</i> , 230.	<i>hellë</i> -pyne, 229.

² In Chaucer final *e* in *weyë* is frequently sounded; cf. rhymes with infinitives, *Canterbury Tales*, B 1698, 1747, and *Prologue* 467, etc.

Weak Stems.

- | | |
|-------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|
| (a) masc. acc. sing.
<i>tymē</i> , 18. | (b) feminine.
<i>erthē</i> , 41.*
<i>hertē</i> , 140.* |
|-------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|

I-Stem.

dedē, 50, 132.

U-Stem, masc. acc.

sonē, 148.

Romance Words.

erytagē, 134. *festē*, 201, 203.

Latin Words.

Lukē, 170.

II. Verbs.

- | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (a) Infinitives.
<i>sechē</i> , 10.
<i>makē</i> , 58.
<i>leuē</i> , 149. | (b) Pret. Ind. 1st sing.
<i>dedē</i> , 14.*
<i>woldē</i> , 18.
<i>madē</i> , 61; <i>haddē</i> , 68;
<i>mostē</i> , 213. |
| (c) Pret. Ind. 2nd sing.
<i>geuē</i> , 168. | (d) Pret. Ind. 3rd sing.
<i>sholdē</i> , 16; <i>keptē</i> , 17. |
| (e) Imperative sing.
<i>cleymē</i> , 232. | |

III. Adjectives.

- | | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (a) Plural, weak.
<i>oldē</i> , 20.
<i>lestē</i> , 198.* | (b) Plural, strong.
<i>fyuē</i> , 221.
<i>pusē</i> , 226. |
| (c) Singular, weak.
<i>ownē</i> , 54, 77.
<i>ferdē</i> [<i>fēorfa</i>], 124. | (d) Strong, with final organic <i>e</i> .
(1) in the predicate.
<i>trewē</i> , 21. |
| (e) Strong, in attrib. position
<i>wildē</i> , 163.*
<i>allē</i> , 5 (before <i>ioye</i>). | (2) in compound.
<i>trewē</i> , 126, 130. |

IV. Adverbs.

morë, 39, 119; *loudë*, 157; *sorë*, 227.

V. Prepositions.

betwenë, 194.³

VI. Pronunciation of the plural inflexional endings of verbs (i. e., *e*, *eth* [imperative], or *en*) is necessary to the scansion of lines 71, 81, 95, and to the scansion of 138 and 147, unless the past participles in these lines had the prefix *y*. Plural inflexional endings in *fo* and *hand*, lines 40 and 142, must also have been sounded, as the metre shows.

From the above evidence afforded by the rhyme and metre of the A-text, it is clear that, at the time of its composition, final *e* was generally sounded. The exceptions noted under A may be regarded as makeshifts of the poet, in the face of the body of evidence on the other side.

§2. DIALECT OF THE ORIGINAL TEXT OF THE EXTANT MANUSCRIPTS

A. The rhymes of the A-text that throw light upon the question of the dialect of the original text are few; but these few are clear evidence as far as they go:

I. That the dialect was not Northern is shown by

(a) the stressed vowels of the following rhyme words: ⁴

³ If my readings for lines 6, 19, and 122 are correct (see pp. c-cvii) final *e* is sounded also in the following cases: *withoute*, 6; *fyue* (pl. adj.), 19; *smerte* (noun) 122. Lines metrically defective are 48 and 220 where two accented syllables fall together: (a) *thúrst* and *chéle*; (b) *boúr* and *I*. Lines offering difficulties in scansion because of doubtful readings are: 52, 120, 152, 154, 177, 179, 196.

scholde } 13-14, shows that the dialect was not Northumbrian.
wolde }

$\left. \begin{array}{l} y\text{-}do \\ fo \end{array} \right\} 25\text{-}26.$	$\left. \begin{array}{l} so \\ euermo^5 \end{array} \right\} 123\text{-}124.$
$\left. \begin{array}{l} also \\ y\text{-}do \end{array} \right\} 209\text{-}210.$	$\left. \begin{array}{l} gon \\ y\text{-}don \end{array} \right\} 213\text{-}214.$

(b) the participle *go* or *y-go* in line 47, rhyming with *wo*. In a Northern text the participial form would be *gan*, and there would be no rhyme.⁶

(c) Contributory evidence in the pronunciation, in certain cases (see §1, BVI.) of plural inflexional endings of verbs.

II. The prefix *y* in the participle *y-do*, 25, 50 and 210; *y-wryton*, 82; *y-æwe*, 109; *y-seled*, 159; *y-pyzt*, 161, show Midland or Southern origin, since the prefix is necessary to the scansion of these lines.⁷

III. Final conclusive evidence that the dialect of the common original was Midland is found in the rhyme of lines 87-88, *ben* (Pres. Indic. 3rd pl.)—*sen*, which appears in all the extant manuscripts.

⁵ The Northern form *ga* of MS. *F* is due to the scribe's emending to obtain a Northern rhyme for *swa*. Of *euerma* I find no occurrence later than the 13th century, either in the North or South; See *O. E. Homilies I* (*E.E.T.S.* Orig. Ser.) p. 165, v. 106, and p. 171, v. 200, and for *næfrema* see *Ormulum* 4206 and *O. E. Homilies*, p. 63, v. 166. The regular Northern form for *euermo* was *euermar(e)*; See *Cursor Mundi* 98, 410, 1920, 23934.

⁶ I add also to the evidence against Northern origin the contracted form *skyft* in line 122, MS. *G*, which I have tried to establish as the correct reading (see pp. c ff). Other contributory evidence is found in the pronunciation of the plural inflexional endings of verbs (*e*, *eth* imperative, or *en*) which is necessary to the scansion of lines 71, 81, and 95, and also to the scansion of 138 and 147, unless the past participles in these lines had the prefix *y*. Were the prefix *y* sounded, the fact would also point to Midland or Southern origin.

⁷ The prefix *y* must also have been sounded in the following cases, or else final *e* of the forms:

haue (1st sing. pres. Indic.) lines 3 and 47.

were (2nd sing. and 3rd sing. pret. Indic.) lines 7 and 50.

sore (adverb) 165.

THE LONG CHARTER, B-TEXT.

§ 1. FINAL *e*.

A. Rhyme words.

A study of the rhymes in B not occurring in A reveals six cases in which words ending, in Anglo-Saxon, in final *e*, organic or inflexional, rhyme with words not ending in *e*:

- I. *boke* F. Cons. stem, acc. }
loke Verb, infin. } 1-2.
- wende* Verb, infin. }
fende M. nd-stem, acc. } 3-4.
- understonde* Verb, infin. }
londe N. O-stem, acc. } 17-18.
- seyne* (or *sowen*) Verb, pp. }
owen Wk. adj. pl. } 19-20.
- rode* A-stem, acc. }
blode O-stem, acc. } 269-270.
- þer* Adv. }
chere OFr. *chere* } 283-284.

II. Special cases:

- (1) explicable as containing petrified dative:

wonde A-stem, acc. }
grounde M. O-stem. } 223-224.

- (2) not explicable except as containing the old plural ending *e*, which is improbable, taken with other evidences of B's age:

werke N. O-stem, acc. pl. }
kyrke F. Wk. stem, acc. sing. } 369-370.

bryng Verb, infin. }
thyng N. O-stem, acc. pl. } 413-414.

III. B has retained the rhymes of A with three exceptions: *lyf-lyf* 45-46, which B alters to *dede* (adj.) -*þe queda* 81-82, evidently to avoid the identical rhyme; *fode-blode* 59-60, to *blode-mode* 107-108; and *blode-rode* 77-78 to *blode-stode* 153-154.

These last two cases might be regarded as emendations of B to restore true rhymes, but that in the first case changes made by B in the lines immediately preceding seem naturally to lead to a different rhyme here; and that in the second, B seems to have broken the rhyme in order to introduce more detail, the progress of the narrative in A being at this point very rapid. Moreover, in another place, B retains this same rhyme of A (A 207-208, B 355-356), which seems to show that he was not aware of its irregularity.

B. Final *e* in the Interior of the Line.

The scansion of the B-text is, in general, difficult, because (a) the manuscripts frequently offer several different readings for the same line, and (b) the lines are often manifestly corrupt. Moreover, since certain lines not involving a final *e* scan only when the stress is placed awkwardly, it is possible that some of those cited below, which scan well only when final *e* is sounded,⁸ were not intended to contain any final *e* syllable, as 35, 83, 91, 130 and 358. The critical readings, however, would indicate that in the following cases final *e* was probably sounded in the original of the extant manuscripts:

I. Nouns

A-stems, nom. acc.

sowlē, 4, 69,* 402.

Ja-stem.

blyssē, 412.

Weak stems.

hertē, 338; in compound,
224.

Romance words.

Joyē, 197.*
placē, 408.

⁸ As lines 11, 261, and 403.

N. O-stem, acc. sing. (which took *e* in the *Troilus* ⁹)
Sothē, 315.

II. Verbs

Infinitives

helpē, 35, 83; *fyndē*, 89, 358; *spoylē*, 133; *repentē*,
 329; *demē*, 369*; *sekē*, 408*; *put[ē or en]*? 403.

Pres. Ind. first sing.
pray[ē], 261.

Pret. Ind. 3rd plur.
madē, 145.

Pres. Ind. 3rd sing.
woldē, 91.

2nd Optative sing.
payē, 211.

Pret. Ind. 1st sing.
haddē, 95; *most[ē]*, 318.

III. Adjectives

Strong:

sing. *myldē*, 108.

plur. *gretē*, 130.

fewē, 96.

allē, 414.

Weak, plur. *ownē*, 240.¹⁰

On the other hand, the following lines, in which final *e* was pronounced in the A-text, have been altered in the B-text, apparently to avoid final *e*'s counting as a syllable: 40, 42^b, 88, 93, 104, 122, 136, 194, 214, 216, 222, 350, 379 (corresponding to A 14, 18, 50, 53, 58, 62, 68, 114, 132, 134, 140, 198, 221). Certain lines in A requiring the pronunciation of final *e* were taken over by B, however, without alteration: A 10, 17, 21, 54, 77, 91, 119, 126, 148, 149,

⁹ See Kitt. *Observ.* p. 44.

¹⁰ Lines difficult of scansion are, for example: 11, 13, 78, 107, 252, 269, 283, 388.

157, 194, 203 = B 34, 42^a, 43, 94, 153, 169, 201, 208, 232, 233, 243, 346, 351.

From the above inconsistent evidence it hardly seems safe to draw conclusions as to the pronunciation of final *e* at the time of the composition of the B-text. Such evidence as there is, however, appears to indicate a general laxity of usage in this respect.

§2. DIALECT OF THE ORIGINAL B-TEXT.

The stressed vowels in the following rhymes indicate Midland or Southern origin for the B-text:

<i>ydo</i>	}	95-96	<i>wo</i>	}	275-276.
<i>po</i>			<i>ydo</i>		
	}	283-284.		}	
<i>per</i>			<i>chere</i>		
<i>more</i>	}	99-100.	<i>two</i>	}	397-398.
<i>forlore</i>			<i>do</i>		

On the other hand, the text contains one rhyme with the Northern *k* from AS. *c*:

<i>werke</i>	}	369-370.
<i>kyrke</i>		

The indications of Midland or Southern origin noted above are corroborated by the prefix *y* in *y-do*, lines 95, 276, and perhaps in *y-spoke*, 333, though the evidence supplied by the prefix is not in itself altogether reliable, since the scansion of the original is not certain.

THE LONG CHARTER, C-TEXT.

The following rhymes occurring in portions of the C-text which are not found in the B-text, indicate a Midland or Southern original for this version, though the unique manuscript is chiefly Northern:

pore } 87-88; 227-228.
before }

fro } 115-116.
to }

underfong } 133-134.
tong }

The rhyme *do-so*, 131-132, is of particular interest, since it represents a scribe's attempt to join two portions of text that seem not to be in proper sequence. Line 132 appears to be of this scribe's own composition, and the rhyme indicates that he was not a Northern man (cf. p. lxxxix).

Two occurrences of one distinctly Northern rhyme, however, are found:

werke } 297-298; 305-306.
kyrke }

THE SHORT CHARTER.

§ 1. FINAL *e*.

A. Rhyme words.

The following words ending in Anglo-Saxon in final *e* occur in rhyme with words that did not:

ending A-stem, acc. } 9-10.
kyng O-stem, nom. }

seckernesse acc. } 31-32.
is verb. 3rd sing. }

here adv. } 1-2.
dere pl. adj. in the pred. }

Doubtful cases:

smerte noun, acc. sing. } 11-12.
herte wk. noun, acc. sing. }

The critical reading here would make *smerte* a noun. Compare Kittredge, *Observations on the Language of Chaucer's Troilus*,¹¹ who believes the form in final *e* to be an adjective. Mss. *E* and *I* insert *paynes* before *smerte*.

Rhymes Occurring in Particular Manuscripts.

<i>dette</i>	OFr.	} e-f. Mss. <i>A</i> and <i>B</i> only.
<i>sett</i>	Past part.	

<i>ending</i>	A-stem, acc.	} 9-10. Ms. <i>L</i> only.
<i>reynynge</i>	Pres. part in pred.	

B. Final *e* in the Interior of the Line.

Critical readings indicate that final *e* was pronounced in the following cases:

sayë, inf., 17; *whichë* or *samë*, wk. adj. sing., 29; *ownë*, wk. adj. sing., 30; *morë*, wk. adj. sing., 31; *firstë*, wk. adj. sing., 34.

Cases of doubtful scansion, where final *e* may have been sounded, are:

hauë Pres. Ind. 1st sing., 7, 18.
gyfe Infin. 15.

The plural inflexional ending *es* in *woundës*, 5, and *stonës*, 24, were also probably sounded.

In view of such incomplete lines (metrically) as 10 and 28, it is uncertain whether final *e* was actually sounded or not in the cases mentioned in this paragraph; but see the next paragraph.

§2. DIALECT OF ORIGINAL TEXT.

The dialect of the original text was Northern, as is shown by the vowels in the stressed syllables of the two rhymes:

¹¹ *Chaucer Society*, Ser. 2. vol. XXVIII, 140-1, note.

<i>quake</i>	Infin.	} 23-24.
<i>brake</i>	Pret. Indic. 3rd pl.	
<i>thing</i>	Noun, acc.	} 29-30.
<i>hyng</i>	Pres. Indic. 1st sing.	

and in corroboration

<i>seckernesse</i>	} 31-32.
<i>is</i> (would have been <i>es</i>)	

The fact that the dialect was Northern makes it probable that final *e* was sounded only in cases where the metre made it indispensable.

APPENDIX II

ADDITIONAL TEXTS

1. CARTA DOMINI NOSTRI IESU CHRISTI

Brit. Mus. Add. ms. 21253, f. 186a.

Sciant presentes et futuri. *scilicet. omnes qui sunt celo et in terra.* Quod ego Iesus Christus filius dei patris et Marie virginis deus et homo pro hereditate mea Iniuste et proditiose a meis ablata diu sub manu aduersarij detenta teste toto mundo in stadio pugnaui aduersum diuici. victoriam optinui et hereditatem meam recuperaui sesinam in parasceue cum heredibus meis accepi. habendum et tenendum seisinam in longitudinem et latitudinem in eternum. secundum dispositum est a patre meo. libere et quiete. Annuatim et continue Reddendo cor mundum deo et animam puram. In cuius rei testimonium hanc presentem cartam proprio sanguine conscripsi. legi. per totum mundum publicaui. Sigillum que mee diuinitatis apposui cum testomonio patris et spiritus. Nam hij tres testimoniu dant in celo scripta. lecta et confirmata. et generi humano tradita feria. quinta. parasceues. super montem caluarie publice et aparte in eternum durature. Anno a creatione mundi. 5. 2. 3. 2. Nota quod condicio amplia est vt continue Reddamus deo cor mundum et animam puram al[i]oquin satisfacimus contra ius nostrum Si autem preuemus a peccato. Iusto titulo vindicare possumus regnum celorum. [f. 186 b] Dicunt enim Iura ciuilia quod filius habens patrem suum interfectum non potest vindicare hereditatem patris sui nisi prosequatur interfectorem patris sui Pater noster Christus est interfectus. Quis eum interfecit. Certe peccatum. quia peccatum erat causa quare captus est. flagellatus. et occisus. Si ergo vis esse heres eius oportet quod prosequeris. peccatum quod eum interfecit. sicut filius prosequitur interfectorem patris sui. non desistens eum damnare et alios ad eius odium aluere. Age quod illud iudicetur. exulet. et interficiat et omnino et finaliter destruat.

Numquam patiaris *quam* in te est quod peccatum fauorem habeat et quod omnes illud odiant. *que* interfecit patrem tuum Christum. Et sic poteris iuste vindicare eius hereditatem. *scilicet* Regnum celorum.

2. CARTA LIBERA

St. John's Coll. Camb. MS. E. 24, f. 22a.

Variant readings from St. John's Coll. MS. D. 8, f. 174^b are recorded in the footnotes. The rimes would be restored in lines 19 and 20 by transposing *pedes* and *manus*, and by reading *des te* instead of *te des*.

Hic incipit carta libera domini nostri Ihesu Christi

Hec quicunque sciant presentes atque futuri

Et memores fiant nisi sint sensus sibi duri

Quod uir ego ihesus bethlem de uirgine natus

Ierusalem lesus crucifixus ludificatus

5 Dando concessi cunctis nec ab inde recessi

Regnum celeste si semper uiuant honeste

Aut si quando *tamen* faciant quocunque grauamen

Non ita delebor si peniteant miserebor

Nec quicquam ¹ cupio reddi nisi cordis amorem

10 Hoc homo iam sicio ² pro quo tibi fundo cruorem

Ergo pro feodo cor tuum redde ³ mihi gratum

Taliter ecce modo tibi trado meum laceratum

Inspice deuote precor inspice mente serena

Ostendo pro te que quanta sunt mea pena

15 Hic sunt transfossa caro uene cor cutis ossa

Ac mea premunda te lauit sanguis et unda

Nam qui per pomum fueras sine fine peremptus

Nec es abinde demum sub tale ⁴ sorte redemptus

Ecce cor ecce pedes capud ecce manus ego sanus

20 Sum mihi si te des tibi do me fac ita pro me

Traditus a iuda sum captus et inde ⁵ ligatus

¹ *quicquid*.

² *sitis*.

³ *redde tuum* (correctly).

⁴ *tali*.

⁵ Omits *inde*.

- Omnia sunt nuda que plebs fecit atque pilatus ⁶
 Scilicet in fine probra sputa flagellaque plura
 Crux clauī spine fel lancea passio dura
 25 Et si que pacior uideantur non satis arta
 Post hec en morior hec mors homo fit ⁷ tua carta
 Nemo potest iure priuare quin ⁸ ista tenebunt
 En quot secure warrantizare ualebunt
 Testibus hiis factis tenebris velo quoque scisso
 30 Petris confractis terremotu sub abyssio
 Si plures uultis testante Johanne que matre
 Ac aliis multis cum sacro neupmate patre
 In cuius rei testimonium requiei
 ut stet tranquillum cor ⁹ proprium pono sigillum
 35 In caluarie summo sunt hec data gratis
 Sanguine scripta die quo iam morior valeatis
Sanguine tamen puro cartam frater tibi scripsi
 38 *Et pro securo proprium cor penditur ipsi, amen.*¹⁰

3. CARTA DEI

Bod. ms. Kent Charter 233.

- Knowyn alle men that are & schuln ben
 That I Jhc' of Nazaren
 Wyt myn wyl and herte good
 For myn handwerk and for my blod
 5 Have grantyd, ȝovyn and confermyd is
 To christenemen in erthe I wys
 Thourch my charte that the mon se,
 My body that heng on the tre,
 A mes housyd fayir and fre,
 10 It is hevene blysse I telle the,
 Betwen est and west, north and south,
 To hem her dwellyn it is wel couth,

⁶ After line 22 ms. D 8 (perhaps correctly) places lines 27-28.

⁷ *sit.*

⁸ *quod.*

⁹ *proprium cor* (correctly).

¹⁰ These two lines occur only in ms. D 8.

- To havyn and heldyn that swete place
 Wel gud in pes thourch my grace,
 15 To crystene man that synne wyl fle,
 Heritable and in fee,
 For the servise that lyt therinne,
 That is, to kepyn man fro synne,
 Of the chel [read *chef*] lord of that fee
 20 Every synne flede hee.
 And I Jhe' of Nazaren
 And my eyris qwat so he ben
 In warantyse we schuln us bynde
 To crystene man wythoutyn hende
 25 In wytnesse of thys thing
 My syde was opned in selyng.
 To thys charte trewe and good
 I have set my seal, myn herthe blod,
 These am the wytnesses trewe and god;
 30 The garlond of thorn on myn hed stode,
 The schorges and the naylis long,
 And the spere my herte stong,
 The stoppe ful of eysil and galle,
 And Hely ely that I gan calle,
 35 My bloody terys me ronnyng fro,
 My bondys, my peynis and othir mo.
 30vyn and garantyd be my wyl
 At Calvarie on that held [read *hyl*]
 The friday befor the paske day,
 40 Therof I may noȝt seyn nay,
 The ȝer of my regne her
 Thretty wyntyre and thredde half ȝer.
 Hec est carta Dei.

4. CARTA CELESTIS HEREDITATIS

(A Prose Tract, related to the Charter of Christ.)

This treatise, entitled variously, *Carta Celestis Hereditatis*,
Chartre of Heuene, *Charter of oure heuenli Eritage*, *Chartre of*

Heven Blisse, Diploma Caeli, forms part of the *Poor Caitiff*, a work comprising a series of tracts, which has been ascribed to Richard Rolle,¹ to Wycliff,² and to an unknown friar. So far as I know, the earliest mss. date from the fourteenth century, and there are several of the fifteenth century.³ On a "spare page" at the beginning of one of the manuscripts, Harl. 2336, is the following: *Dixit Episcopus Cicestrensis quod Frater Minor compilavit hunc librum in suo Defensorio*. The compiler of the Harleian Catalogue from which I obtained this information, adds: "I doubt not but that this Bishop of Chichester was Reginald Pecok, who was thought to favor the Lollards, and was openly persecuted and deprived, as guilty of Heresy." It will be seen that the *Carta* of the *Poor Caitiff* is not a charter, in spite of its name, but a tract which discusses the Charter of Christ, its component parts, etc., and urges man to be mindful of it and to study it. Its relation to the *Charter of Christ* has been discussed in Chapter II.⁴

¹ See *Cat. of Camb. Univ. MSS.*, Vol. III (1858) under the description of MS. II. 6. 40, where this treatise is recorded with the title, *A Charter of remission*, and ascribed to Richard Rolle.

² By Mr. Wharton, according to *Cat. Harl. MSS. of Brit. Mus.* 1808, under MS. 1706. I do not know where Mr. Wharton makes this statement. This is ascribed to Wycliffe also by Robert Vaughan (*John de Wycliffe, D. D.*, 1853, Appendix, p. 533). See also *Cat. of Ash. MSS.* under MS. 1286, and *Report Hist. MSS. Com.* VIII (London, 1881) App. part III, 101, under Ashburnham MS. Add. 27d. Compare with these, Shirley, *Fasciculi Zizanorum*, Rolls Series (London, 1858), p. xiii, note 3 (referred to in this connection by ed. of *Cat. of Stowe MSS.*, 1895, Vol. I, 23).

³ The two oldest of which I have record are: MS. Ashburnham Add. 27d (See *Report Hist. MSS. Com.* VIII. App. part III, 101) of the fourteenth century. The others are MS. Bod. 4 (of which I do not know the date); MSS. Ashmole 1286 (about 1400); Douce 13, 288, 322; Rawl. C. 751; Bod. 938 (See Horstman, *Richard Rolle* I, 3), all of the fifteenth century; MSS. Harl. 1706, 2322, 2335, 2336, 4012, of which I do not know the dates; MS. Add. (Brit. Mus.) 30897, MS. Stowe 38, both of the fifteenth century; Camb. Univ. MSS. Ff. 5. 45, Ff. 6. 34, II. 6. 40, Hh. 1. 12, all of the fifteenth century; Bibl. Nat. Paris, MS. angl. 41, fol. 95^a ff.

⁴ John Bale has the following entry concerning another charter of the fourteenth century: "Brendanus monachus et abbas Hibernus, scrip-

[Cambridge University ms. Ff. 6. 34.]

[f. 72.] A good tretys of a notable chartour of pardoun of oure lorde Ihesu crist &c. [in a different and later hand].

Euery wise man þat cleymeth his eritage. eipir askeþ gret pardoun: kepith bisili & haþ ofte mynde vpon þe chartre of his calenge | & þerfore eche man lerne to liue vertuously: & kepe & haue mynde vpon þe chartre of heuene blisse | & stodie stidfastli þe witte of þis bille: for þe pardoun þerof schal dure wijpouten ende | vndirstonde wel þat þe chartre of his eritage, & þe bulle of his euerlastinge pardoun: is oure lord ihesu crist. writen wiþ al þe myzt & vertu of god | þe parchemyn of þis heuenli chartre. is neiþir of scheep ne of calf: but it is þe bodi & þe blessid skyn of oure lord ihesu loomb þat neuere was spotted wiþ wem of synne | & was þere neuere skyn of scheep neiþir of calfe so sore & so hard streined on þe teynture eipir harewe of eny parchemyn makere as was þe blessid bodi and skyn [f. 72b] of oure lord ihesu crist. for oure loue streined & drawen vpon þe iebat of þe cros herde neuer man fro þe biginnyng of þe world til to now. neiþir schal hens to domesdai: þat euere writere wroot vpon schepis skin eipir on calues wiþ so hard & hidouse þornes. so bittirli so sore & so depe as writen þe cursid Iewis vpon þe blessid bodi & swete skin of oure lord ihesu crist. wiþ harde nailes. scharpe spere & sore prickinge þornes instide of here pennes | thei writen so sore & so depe. þat þei perciden hise hondes & feet wiþ harde nailes: þei openeden his herte wiþ a scharpē spere | þei perssiden vpon his heed a corowne of

sit . . . *Cartam coelestis hereditatis*, li. 1. 'Quisquis sapiens hereditatem vendi.' [authority] *Ex domo Michaelis Hobley.*" *Index Brit. Script.* ed. R. L. Poole, Oxf. 1902, pp. 49-50; and *Script. Illus. . . . Catalogus* (post. pars), Basileae, 1559, p. 236. Concerning this work, Dr. Gustav Schirmer (*Zur Brendanus Legende*, Leipzig, 1888, pp. 10-11) expresses the opinion that the *Carta coelestis hereditatis* can not be attributed to St. Brendan. I have no means of arriving at a knowledge of the contents of this charter; but it would seem to me probable that it is a version of the *Carta Coelestis hereditatis*. The initial sentence of the *Carta* of Brendanus and that in the *Poor Caitiff* suggest a common origin, the *Poor Caitiff* Charter beginning, in one version, "Euery wise man þat cleymeth his eritage," and in another (ms. Douce 13) "Everie wise man that deynieth his heritage."

scharpe þornes þat lieli perciden to his brayn panne | þe woundis vppon þat blessid bodi and swete skyn of crist: weren instide of lettris | & as clerkis seyn & specialli seint anselme. þere weren vppon þe blessid bodi of crist open woundis bi noumbre fyue þousend foure hundrid seuenti & fyue | þis is þe noumbre of lettris: wiþ whiche oure chartre was written | bi which we moun cleyme oure eritage. if we liven [f. 73] riȝtli: & kepe þis chartre stidfastly in mynde | þe sentence & vnderstanding writen wiþinne & wiþoute þis blessid chartre & bodi of ihesu crist: is oure bileue | for he is þe cofre in whom is closid & loken: al þe tresoure of witte & wisdom of god | vppon þis blessid chartre. was written weilinge. eiþir mournynge. song & sorwe | weilinge eiþir mornynge: for sorwe of oure synnes | for þe whiche to ben helid & waschen away: crist god and man must suffre so hard & peyneful woundis | vppon cristis bodi þat is oure heuenli charter: was written singinge to alle þilke þat parfiteli forsaken here synnes | for þei han ful medicine & helpe: þorouȝ vertu of the bittir woundis & precious blood of ihesu | & vppon þe woundis of ihesu mai be red sorwe. to alle hem þat for false likinge & lust þat durif but a while. bynden hem-self to synne & seruage of þe fend | & lesen þe help of þe heuenli chartre & so here heritage: & wenden blyndli to sorwe þat durif for euere | þe laces of þis heuenli chartre: is þe biheeste of god & þat god mai not lie. for he is souereyn treuþe | þe firste laas is his [f. 73 b] biheeste: þat was dai eiþer oure a synful man eiþir woman leueþ here synne hooli & hertli wiþ bittir sorwe & turneþ hem to him: he schal receiue hem to his mercy | but eche man be war þat he tarie not longe: lest for his owne vnkyndenesse grace be taken fro him | þe secounde laas is þe ful trist þat we han þat god may not lie neþir be false of his biheefte | hereinne hangif sikirli: oure trist of oure eritage | & bi þese two lacis hangif þe seel of oure chartre: selid wiþ þe blood of þe lomb crist | þat is cristis flessche taken of the clenrest dropes of blood in þe swetest virgine marie: more craftili & merueylousli. þan euere ony bee. bi craft of kynde gadrif þe wax of floures of þe feeld | þe printe⁵ of þis

⁵ Transcript reads *prince*.

seel: is þe schap of oure lord ihesu crist hanginge for oure synne
 on þe cros. as we moun se bi þe ymage of þe crucifix | he haþ
 his heed bowid don: redi to kisse alle þilke þat verili turnen
 to him he haþ hise armes spred abroad: redi to biclippe hem |
 he is nailed faste foot & honde to þe crosse: for he wole duelle
 wiþ [f. 74] hem & neuere wende away fro man: but if man
 forsake him first þorouȝ synne | he haþ al his bodi spred abroad:
 to ȝeue himself hoolly to vs cleuyng to him | vtterli he haþ
 his side opened: & his herte cloue for or oure sake | so
 þat wiþoute lettinge we moun crepe in to cristis herte & reste
 þere þorouȝ stidfast bileue & herti loue | þis chartre may not
 fiȝr brenne ne watir drenche: neiþir þeeȝ robbe neiþir ony crea-
 ture distroie | for þis scripture þe fadir of heuene haap halewid
 eiþir maad stidfast | & sente it into þe world; þe whiche scrip-
 ture mai not be vndo as þe gospel witnessiþ | þis scripture is
 oure lord Ihesu crist: chartre & bulle of oure eritage of heuene |
 locke not þis chartre in þi coffre: but sette it eiþir write it in
 þin herte | & alle þe creatures in heuene neiþir in erþe neiþir
 in helle moun not robbe it neiþir bireue it fro þe. but if þou
 wolt þi self assenting to synne | & if þou kepist weel þis
 chartre in þe coffre of þin herte wiþ good liuyng & deuote loue
 lastingly to þin ende | as tristeli & treuli as he is trewe [f. 74b]
 god: þorouȝ vertu of hise chartre þou schalt haue þin eritage
 of blisse duringe wiþouten ende. . . .

GLOSSARY OF SPECIAL WORDS

BS = Bradley-Stratmann's Mid. Eng. Dict. BT = Bosworth and Toller's Old Eng. Dict. NED = New Eng. Dict. A = *Long Charter*, A-Text; B = *Long Charter*, B-Text. The numbers refer to lines in the texts. The glossary aims only at furnishing a convenient record of unusual terms and of special meanings of common words, and the above authorities have been freely used in compiling it.

abye: infin. [OE. *a* + *bycgan*], suffer, pay the penalty. B 66.

als-tyte (-tite): see *as-tyte*.

a-party (-i): adv. [from *a* prep. + *party* > Fr. *partie*], in part, somewhat, a little. A 199.

aplyȝt (-plight): adv. [*a* prep. + OE. *plight*], in faith, truly, certainly, surely. B, MS. C 14.

as-tyte (-tite; also spelled erroneously -tight(e), *tyȝte*, *tyht*, etc., cf. NED): adv. [North. *as* + *tite* Scand. cf. ON. *titt*, frequently, etc.], immediately. B 14.

bykeȝe: noun [perhaps from OE. *bī-cwīde*, proverb, fable, tale <ME. *by-quīde*, *bī-cwīde*, also spelled *beqwede*, *bīqwethe*, *becweðe*, etc.]? bequest. A, MS. G 209. *Bykeye* (-kaye) of the other MSS. of A is probably intended for the same word.

by-keye (-kaye): probably intended for *bykeȝe*, q. v.

betought: vb., 3. sing. pret. [OE. *betācan*], to entrust, commit, give in charge to. B 377.

demed: vb. 1. sing. pret. [OE. *dēman*], to decree, ordain, appoint. A, MSS. IK 15.

demytted: vb. 1. sing. pret. [Lat. *dēmīttēre*, cf. OFr. *demetre*], fig. sig., to humble, abase. But the NED gives no example of this word earlier than 16th cent., and of this meaning none before 17th cent. A 15.

fand (fondede): vb. 3. sing. pret. [OE. *fandian*, *ʒefandian*], to test, put to the proof, tempt, try. A 29.

fondede: see *fand*.

fray: noun [aphetic from *affray*, *effray* > OFr. *effrei*, *esfrei*], assault, attack. A 196.

hende: adv. [appar. an aphetic form of OE. *gehende*], courteously, kindly, gently. B 92.

me: error for *By*. A, MSS. *F*, *H*, *I*, *K*, *L* 23.

mistayle: noun [OFr. *mestaille*], evil plight. A, MS. *I* 131.

neb: noun [OE. *nebb*], face. A 83.

piht (pyȝt, y-piht, y-pyȝt, etc.); vb. pp. [ME. *picche* (*n*) prob. from OE. **picc(e)an* of 1st wk. cl., pret. **pihte*. The NED says there is no recorded instance of this word in OE., nor in cognate languages], placed, set, driven into the ground, set up, etc. A 75, 161; B 247.

plyght: vb. pp. probably an error for *piht*, q. v. A, MS. *G* 75.

qued: noun [early ME. *cwead*, *cwed*, *cwad* = O. Fris. *quad*, etc.], the evil (one), the devil, a meaning derived from the adjective *qued(-e)* evil, wicked. B 82.

scryt(e): noun [aphetic from OFr. *escrit*], a writing, written document. A 193.

sesyng (saying, etc.): verbal noun [OFr. *saisir*, *seisir*], the act of taking possession of, investing or establishing in a holding. A 24, 25, 34, 105; B 39, 50, 53, 185.

skift: vb. 3 sing. pres. Ind., syncopated form [OE. *sciftan*], to ordain, act, devise (with intran. sense). The ordinary trans. meaning is, to change, move, shift. Cf. pp. civ. f. A, MS. *G* 122.

stið: noun [ON. *steði*], anvil, stithy.

strayste: error for *strait* (?) *te*. A, MS. *I* 78.

wen (wēne?): adj. [OE. (*or-*) *wāna* = Goth. (*us-*) *wēna*, ON. *vānn*, OHG. (*ur-*) *wani*], hopeful, beautiful. BS gives but one example of this word, in the comparative degree. Cf. p. xcv. A, MSS. *F*, *G* 90. In OE. BT records the form *wēn-līc*, fair, handsome, comely.

VITA

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I, Mary Caroline Spalding, daughter of the Rev. Charles Nelson Spalding, D. D., and Mary Hewetson Appleton Spalding, was born in San Francisco, California, on February 23rd, 1877.

I was prepared for college at Kemper Hall, Kenosha, Wisconsin, and entered Vassar College in 1897, taking the A. B. degree in 1901. During the years 1897 to 1899, I held a scholarship at Vassar College awarded by Kemper Hall; and from 1899 to 1901, a Vassar undergraduate scholarship.

In 1906, I entered graduate courses at Bryn Mawr College. From 1908 to 1910 I held a graduate scholarship in English at Bryn Mawr College, and was awarded the Fellowship in English for the year 1910-1911. I attended the Summer School of the University of Chicago in 1908.

My graduate work in the major subject, English Philology, has been directed by Professor Carleton Brown, and Dr. Samuel Moore, and in the minor subjects, English Literature and Old French, by Professor A. H. Upham and by Professor Richard T. Holbrook. My examinations for the degree of Ph. D. were taken in May, 1912.

From 1901 to 1910, I was Instructor in English (and during the first three years, in Mathematics also) at the Misses Shipley's School, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania.

In 1910, I published an article entitled *Landericus and Wachterius* in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, for March of that year, Vol. xxv, pp. 152-163.

The accompanying dissertation was presented to the Faculty of Bryn Mawr College in May, 1912, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Further information relating to it, and special acknowledgments of aid received in the preparation of it, will be found in the Preface.

LA PART DE CHARLES NODIER

DANS LA FORMATION DES IDÉES ROMANTIQUES

DE VICTOR HUGO

JUSQU'A LA PRÉFACE DE CROMWELL

MONOGRAPHIES
DE
BRYN MAWR COLLEGE

Volume XVI

LA PART DE CHARLES NODIER

DANS LA FORMATION DES IDÉES ROMANTIQUES

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PAR

EUNICE MORGAN SCHENCK



PARIS

LIBRAIRIE ANCIENNE HONORÉ CHAMPION
ÉDOUARD CHAMPION

5, QUAI MALAQUAIS, 5

—
1914

BIBLIOGRAPHIE

Pour la Bibliographie de Nodier, je renvoie le lecteur au *Manuel de l'Amateur de Livres du XIX^e siècle*, de M. Georges Vicaire, fascicule 18, 1907.

Voici cependant des œuvres dont j'ai fait un emploi constant :

M^{me} Menessier-Nodier : *Charles Nodier*, Didier, 1867.

Victor Hugo raconté par un témoin de sa Vie ; Hetzel, s. d.

Ed. Biré : *Victor Hugo avant 1830* ; Gervais, 1883.

Hartmann : *Zeittafel zu Victor Hugo's Werken* ; Oppeln, 1886.

Lettres à Lamartine : Calmann-Lévy, 1892.

Correspondance de Victor Hugo, t. I. Calmann-Lévy, 1896.

Les études suivantes ont paru depuis la publication du fascicule 18 du *Manuel* de Vicaire :

J. Marsan : *La Muse Française*, 2 vol. Société des Textes français modernes, 1907-1909.

M. Souriau : *La Préface de Cromwell*. Société française d'imprimerie et de librairie, 1897.

G. Estève : *Byron et le Romantisme français*. Hachette, 1907.

M. Salomon : *Charles Nodier et le Groupe romantique*. Perrin, 1908.

L. Séché : *Le Cénacle de la Muse française*. Mercure de France, 1908.

Vorslav Yovanovitch : *La Guzla de Prosper Mérimée*. Hachette, 1911.

L. Séché : *Le Cénacle de Joseph Delorme* ; Mercure de France, 1912.

J. Marsan : *La Bataille romantique*. Hachette, 1912.

Notes sur Charles Nodier. Toulouse, 1912.

H. Sucher : *Les Sources du Merveilleux chez E. T. A. Hoffmann*. Alcan, 1912.

G. Lanson : *Manuel bibliographique de la littérature française moderne*, (pp. 1205-1207 ; *Un Précurseur et un Patron du Romantisme*, Charles Nodier). Hachette, 1912.

Paul Bonnefon : *Victor Hugo : Lettres et Billets inédits*, *Revue Bleue*, 26 avril 1913.

Quand il n'y a pas d'autres indications, les renvois se rapportent, pour les œuvres de Nodier, à l'Edition Charpentier, pour les œuvres de Victor Hugo, à l'Edition Hetzel (Ne Varietur).

A la fin de mon étude le lecteur trouvera une table des articles que Nodier écrivit pour les journaux et revues entre 1813 et 1827, — une partie de sa bibliographie jusqu'ici négligée.

INTRODUCTION

Durant l'année académique 1909-10, deux cours furent simultanément professés à Bryn Mawr College par M. Schinz, professeur de littérature française : l'un, un cours de conférences sur la *Nouvelle Française au XIX^e siècle* ; l'autre, un cours fermé (Graduate Seminary) dans lequel une étude détaillée fut faite des œuvres de jeunesse de Victor Hugo : entre autres, ses premières poésies et ses premiers romans ; et puis la *Préface de Cromwell*. Dans le premier cours, certains « contes fantastiques » de Charles Nodier furent examinés, tels que *Smarra*, *Trilby*, etc., et quelques-uns de ses essais de critique littéraire, particulièrement : *La nouvelle Ecole littéraire*, *Les Types en Littérature* et *Le Fantastique en Littérature*.

Le rapprochement entre les ballades de Victor Hugo et les contes fantastiques de Nodier avait été fait souvent (Victor Hugo l'indiquant lui-même), mais, à vrai dire, jamais d'une façon très serrée ; le rapprochement, par contre, entre la *Préface de Cromwell* et les trois essais susnommés de Nodier était, croyons-nous, plus nouveau. L'idée de cette thèse est née du désir de préciser nos connaissances sur le premier point, et surtout d'étudier de plus près les rapports des deux hommes *dans le domaine de la critique*.

La *Préface* a été composée, comme les ballades, à l'époque où V. Hugo et Nodier étaient très liés, et vu l'action de Nodier

sur Hugo dans un genre (poésie) il semblait naturel d'en soupçonner une aussi, dans l'autre (critique). Il fallait dater les *Essais* de Nodier, et s'ils étaient antérieurs à la *Préface*, il fallait faire, sur leurs relations avec la *Préface*, le même travail de rapprochement que celui projeté entre les *Contes fantastiques* et les ballades et premiers romans de V. Hugo.

Je ne réussis pas d'abord à trouver la moindre trace de la première apparition des *Essais* de Nodier. Et la raison en est assez simple : c'est que je cherchais dans l'œuvre de Nodier antérieure à 1827, date de la *Préface* : car, comment expliquer la rédaction des trois *Essais*, si V. Hugo avait déjà exprimé dans son fameux manifeste les idées qu'ils contiennent ? Ce fut donc non sans étonnement et non sans une certaine déception, celle de devoir renoncer à l'hypothèse que la *Préface de Cromwell* était en quelque sorte l'écho des *Essais* de Nodier, que je découvris ces derniers dans la *Revue de Paris* (qui ne publiait que de l'inédit), aux numéros de déc. 1829, de sept. 1830, et de nov. 1830 : pas un des trois n'était antérieur à la *Préface*.

Il me parut d'abord que la meilleure chose à faire dans ces circonstances était d'écarter tout simplement le problème de la *Préface de Cromwell* et des *Essais*, peut-être même toute l'étude projetée des relations littéraires de V. Hugo et Nodier. Il restait toujours une étude, encore assez neuve, comme on verra, sur Nodier, critique littéraire ; car les recherches déjà faites dans les journaux et les revues antérieurs à 1827, au cours de la chasse aux malheureux *Essais*, avaient révélé une masse énorme de travaux critiques dûs à la plume de Nodier et que ses biographes avaient négligés, ou plus souvent encore, ignorés. Mais à mesure qu'avancait l'examen de ces documents oubliés ou négligés, le problème de la *Préface* déjà indiqué, quoiqu'un peu modifié sans doute, se posait à nouveau. En effet, il était impossible de ne pas être frappé de ce que Nodier, le critique, avait possédé avant 1827 les idées des trois *Essais* — et donc de la *Préface*. Ce n'est pas tout : peu de temps

après, un article de Paul Lacroix, l'ami de Nodier et de V. Hugo, article lu en vue de la documentation de ce travail, éclaira d'un jour nouveau toute la question. Cet article, qui parut dans le *Bulletin du Bibliophile* de l'année 1862, constate que la *Préface de Cromwell* « jeta quelque froideur dans les habitudes » de l'amitié de Victor Hugo et de Nodier. Quelques recherches sur les relations personnelles des deux hommes confirmèrent le fait que vers cette époque Hugo commença à s'écarter de Nodier pour s'inspirer plutôt de Sainte-Beuve en matière de *Credo* littéraire ; et, à la veille de la publication des *Essais* de Nodier, il y eut même une phase particulièrement aiguë de mésentente.

La forme nouvelle que revêtait donc ce problème des relations entre la *Préface* et les trois *Essais* est la suivante : pourquoi Nodier aura-t-il senti la nécessité d'affirmer ses idées — les idées de la *Préface* — après coup ? Pourquoi cette moutarde après dîner ?

Cette étude aura quatre chapitres : Evidemment il ne fallait aborder le problème de l'action d'un auteur sur un autre qu'après un consciencieux travail préliminaire. Le premier chapitre, donc, est consacré à l'*Œuvre de Nodier avant 1827*.

Les deux suivants sont consacrés à un examen de la partie de l'œuvre de Victor Hugo où se trouvaient de façon indiscutable et précise des échos de celle de Nodier ; soit, à un essai de déterminer les *Rapports de l'œuvre de Nodier avec l'œuvre de Victor Hugo dans le Genre fantastique et le Genre frénétique* et *Les Rapports de l'œuvre critique de Nodier avant 1827 avec la Préface de Cromwell*.

Enfin, le petit problème, déjà signalé, que posent *Les trois Essais de Nodier postérieurs à la Préface* fait l'objet de la quatrième partie.

Ce travail a été fait sous la direction de M. Schinz qui a suivi mes recherches avec une bienveillante et infatigable attention pour laquelle je lui offre ici l'expression de ma gratitude.

J'adresse aussi une pensée reconnaissante à M. Mario Roques, directeur adjoint de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes et directeur du service organisé par les membres de la Société amicale Gaston Paris et la Fédération de l'Alliance française aux Etats-Unis et au Canada, pour les étudiants en langues et littératures romanes des pays de langue anglaise — grâce à M. Roques, bien des démarches m'ont été facilitées ; à M. Paul Bonnefon, bibliothécaire de l'Arsenal qui sait si bien où, dans les nombreuses bibliothèques de Paris, il y a chance de trouver tel ou tel document particulier et qui a eu l'amabilité de me faire visiter l'appartement de son prédécesseur, Nodier ; à M. Vigneron, bibliothécaire de la ville de Dôle, et à M. Georges Gazier, bibliothécaire à Besançon, qui ont tous les deux complaisamment mis à mon service les manuscrits de Nodier confiés à leur surveillance ; à M. Léonce Pingaud, professeur émérite à l'Université de Besançon, auteur de *Charles Nodier et Jean de Bry*, etc., qui prépare en ce moment un ouvrage sur la jeunesse de Nodier et qui m'a fait part de certaines pièces jusqu'ici inédites sur la collaboration de Nodier au *Télégraphe Illyrien*. Je tiens à mentionner d'une façon très spéciale l'extrême obligeance de M. Léon Séché. A maintes reprises pendant mon séjour à Paris j'ai eu recours à l'érudition si large et si minutieuse de l'auteur du *Cénacle de la Muse Française* et du *Cénacle de Joseph Delorme*. Enfin je désire remercier M. Louis Cons, professeur à Bryn Mawr College, qui a eu l'extrême bonté de revoir les épreuves de ce travail.

X

M. Léonce Pingaud, auquel j'ai déjà exprimé ma reconnaissance pour les services qu'il m'a rendus dans la préparation de mon travail, a eu mes épreuves entre les mains. Il me fait quelques observations dont, vu la grande distance qui sépare Bryn Mawr de Paris, je n'ai pas pu profiter avant l'impression. Aucune, du reste, ne porte sur mes conclusions. Je n'en sais pas moins gré à M. Pingaud de son obligeance, et renvoie à son livre sur Nodier que la Maison Champion publiera au commencement de 1915.

Bryn Mawr, 1 mai 1914.

CHAPITRE PREMIER

L'ŒUVRE DE NODIER AVANT 1827

Je m'occuperai plus tard avec détail de la *Préface de Cromwell*. Qu'on me permette seulement de rappeler au début de ce chapitre : que la note essentielle de la *Préface* est l'introduction dans la littérature de l'élément grotesque et fantastique (ou si l'on veut se servir d'un terme plus large, l'introduction de l'élément « humain » qu'a apporté le mouvement romantique) à côté d'une conception classique ou rationaliste des choses ; qu'Arioste, Cervantes, Dante, Rabelais, Milton, Ossian sont des noms qui reviennent sans cesse ; et qu'elle (la *Préface*) appuie ses revendications sur trois noms qui sont trois colonnes soutenant tout l'édifice : Shaképeare, la Bible, Homère.

Avec ces faits bien présents à l'esprit on appréciera mieux la portée de l'étude de Nodier qui suit.

PÉRIODE DE PRÉPARATION (1800-1813)

Charles Nodier débuta dans la carrière littéraire, à l'âge de dix-sept ans, par trois pièces de vers publiées à Besançon en 1800 dans un petit volume intitulé : *Essais littéraires par une société de jeunes gens*¹. Dans leur « Avertissement prélimi-

1. J'ai vu à la bibliothèque de Besançon un exemplaire de ce volume : *Essais littéraires par une société de jeunes gens*, Vires acquirit eundo. A Besançon, de l'imprimerie de Félix Charnet, rue des Granges, n° 508, an VIII, in-12°.

naire » ces jeunes gens — parmi eux Charles Weiss, qui resta l'ami fidèle de Nodier pendant toute sa vie — déclaraient : « Nous sommes heureux si nous avons pu prouver par ces faibles essais que l'amour de la littérature occupe tous nos loisirs ». Le résultat de leurs efforts est en effet assez faibles, et les vers de Nodier ne l'emportent pas sur ceux de ses camarades. Ce sont des imitations banales, sans aucune observation personnelle ni aucune manifestation d'un sentiment vrai, des pièces néo-classiques de la fin du XVIII^e siècle. Nodier chante la *nuît des montagnes* :

« Monts tristes et sacrés, vos orgueilleuses cimes
Inspirent le respect,
Et mon cœur transporté par leurs beautés sublimes,
Tressaille à votre aspect. », etc.

ou bien il fait le *Portrait de Chloë*, ode anacréontique :

« Dieu de Paphos, des amants infidèles
Ont pu braver tes flèches et tes lois », etc.

ou bien des vers à *Mademoiselle* *** :

« Ton front des lys a le modeste éclat,
Et d'une rose
A peine éclore
Le voluptueux incarnat. »

Le petit volume ne promettait guère de grands talents poétiques ; mais, dans le cas de Nodier au moins, l'aveu, — déjà romantique dans son enthousiasme, — que l'amour de la littérature occupait tous ses loisirs, était plus que sincère¹ ; à partir de ce moment jusqu'à la fin de sa vie c'est sa préoccupation principale et constante.

Il suffit d'indiquer ces premiers balbutiements de la Muse de Nodier, lequel ne devient réellement intéressant pour nous qu'un peu plus tard.

1. On peut dire la même chose de Charles Weiss, ardent bibliophile.

Divisons son œuvre en deux périodes séparées par l'année 1813, date de son entrée au *Journal des Débats* et, dans chacune de ces périodes, étudions successivement le critique et l'écrivain original.

A. Œuvre critique.

Nodier s'intéressa de bonne heure au côté critique de la littérature. Dès 1798, il s'était consacré à des travaux bibliographiques sinon littéraires, se mettant en cette année-là à dresser le catalogue de la bibliothèque de l'Abbé Pellier ¹. Dans la classification de Nodier une division porte comme titre : « Poésie prosaïque » ; parmi les prosateurs ainsi distingués se trouvent : Rabelais, Marguerite de Navarre, Apulée, Fielding, Cervantes, Prévost, Le Sage ; c'est une véritable collection romantique. Groupée dans cette bibliothèque cataloguée par Nodier, elle a sans doute contribué à la formation de l'esprit du jeune homme, et nous savons, en effet, que dès cette époque il s'enthousiasmait pour ces œuvres-là, françaises et étrangères, et pour d'autres qui devaient devenir les livres de chevet des romantiques. Car en 1800 il écrivait ces lignes : « Avez-vous lu Montaigne, Charron, Rabelais, et Tristram Shandy ? Si vous ne les avez pas lus, lisez-les. Si vous les avez lus, il faut les relire ! ² » Et dans son livre bizarre de la même année, *Les Apothéoses de Pythagore* ³, série de maximes souvent inintelligibles, qu'il publia en édition de

1. Bibliothèque de Besançon, n° 1282. Sur la couverture : *Catalogue de ma Bibliothèque*, 30 octobre 1798, par Nodier, fils. Faux titre : *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque de Claude Antoine Pellier*, classé et chargé de notes bibliographiques par Charles Nodier, bibliothécaire adjoint près l'Ecole Centrale du département du Doubs, L'an VII.

2. Manuscrit inédit de la bibliothèque de Besançon : *Moi-même, manuscrit de Charles Nodier*, 1800. Voir un article de M. G. Gazier dans les *Mémoires de la Société d'émulation du Doubs*, 1903-1904, p. 271 sq.

3. *Apothéoses de Pythagore*, chez A. Crotone. Il n'y eut que 17 exemplaires, tous numérotés. J'ai examiné le n° 8, celui de M. Deis, à la bibliothèque de Besançon.

luxé et dont il semble avoir fait grand cas, il cite parmi ses auteurs préférés, Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, Chateaubriand, Sénancour et Benjamin Constant.

En 1801, il publia un petit volume intitulé — vingt-six ans nous séparent de la *Préface de Cromwell* ! — *Pensées de Shakespeare*¹, qui renferme 190 pensées, presque toutes teintées d'une légère nuance de mélancolie. Nodier est romantique en ce moment selon la formule romantique allemande. Toute la tristesse du monde pèse sur son esprit d'adolescent. Il est philosophe plutôt que poète, mais surtout il est un être souffrant ; il aime Shakespeare parce que « c'est un ami que le ciel a donné aux malheureux de tous les temps et de tous les pays » ; jusqu'alors le côté purement fantaisiste, purement poétique de l'imagination de Shakespeare ne l'a pas frappé ; il ne paraît pas avoir choisi une seule des pensées pour la beauté littéraire ni pour l'imagination hardie qu'il y trouvait. Pourtant, s'intéressant à toutes sortes d'idées, il relève dans ses observations préliminaires, une question de technique, de théorie littéraire, qui va passionner l'école romantique. Quoiqu'indécise, sa discussion des *unités* annonce les manifestes romantiques d'un quart de siècle plus tard. « Je ne sais jusqu'à quel point les unités établies par les anciens doivent être considérées comme une partie essentielle et constitutive du poème dramatique ; je respecte les entraves puisqu'elles paraissent imposées par le goût et que l'usage les a consacrées, mais convenaient-elles à l'auteur de *Macbeth* et d'*Othello* ? Son génie grand comme la nature devait être indépendant comme elle, ou plutôt le génie de Shakespeare et la nature ne sont que la même chose. »

Trois ans plus tard il ajouta à un volume de vers² quelques-unes de ces pensées, introduites par une partie de la préface

1. *Pensées de Shakespeare* : Extraits de ses ouvrages. Besançon, de l'imprimerie de Metoyer, 1801, 46 p., in-12.

2. M. Léon Séché a bien voulu me montrer son exemplaire de ce volume : *Essais d'un jeune Barde*, aussi bien que l'édition originale des *Pensées*.

originale, et munies d'une nouvelle épigraphe : « Génie agreste et pur qu'ils traitaient de barbare », entrant ainsi dans la lutte des classiques et des romantiques comme partisan de Shakespeare.

Cet enthousiasme pour Shakespeare se retrouvera dans le *Cours de littérature* ¹ qu'il professa à Dôle en 1808. Là se manifeste une tendance cosmopolite déjà fort accentuée chez le jeune critique. Le cours est divisé en deux parties : l'*Art oratoire* et l'*Art poétique*. La première aurait pu aussi bien s'intituler l'art de la prose, car elle traite successivement :

De l'Eloquence de la tribune.

De l'Eloquence du barreau.

De l'Eloquence de la chaire.

De l'Eloquence panégyrique.

De l'Eloquence militaire.

De l'Histoire.

Du Style des ouvrages de science.

Du Style de la traduction.

Du Style épistolaire.

Du Roman.

Le cours commence par un traité de rhétorique ennuyeux et banal. Mais à la fin de la première partie, lorsque le professeur s'occupe du roman, et dans presque toute la deuxième partie, qui est de beaucoup la plus importante, la discussion est d'abord intéressante en elle-même, et puis significative de l'orientation très nette du côté du romantisme. Nodier est souvent indécis dans ses conclusions, mais son goût est sûr, toujours en avance de ses théories, et finira par triompher des scrupules qu'il hérite du siècle où il est né. Il s'enthousiasme — près de vingt ans avant la *Préface de Cromwell* ! — pour Cervantes, appelant *Don Quichotte* « cet immortel roman

1. La bibliothèque de Dôle possède le cahier d'un des étudiants du cours de Nodier, C. A. Dusillet, et le manuscrit de la leçon d'ouverture du 4 juillet 1808 (ce dernier de la main de Nodier) : Ces manuscrits sont inédits.

qui conservera le droit de plaire universellement tant que les hommes sauront apprécier le bon et le vrai ». Le Sage est « presque sublime en *Gil Blas* ». Les lignes suivantes font penser à la poésie « prosaïque » de son catalogue de 1798 : « Mais pourquoi ranger *Paul et Virginie* au nombre des romans, pourquoi y placer *Atala* et *René*, les deux productions ingénieuses d'un génie dont la maturité promet tant d'autres chefs-d'œuvre à notre littérature ? Quand j'ai affecté de ne pas comprendre *Télémaque* dans ce genre, j'ai dû vous faire pressentir qu'il était de mon intention de vous démontrer plus tard que si notre nation n'avait pas son *Iliade*, elle avait du moins son *Odyssée* [— et voilà encore Homère, vingt ans avant la *Préface de Cromwell*... —] Je ne doute pas que vous ne conveniez qu'ainsi que Fénelon, Bernardin de Saint-Pierre et Chateaubriant (*sic*) sont des poètes. » (M. Dusillet persiste en cette orthographe de Chateaubriant).

Il faut rattacher à ce passage cet autre, à propos de l'épopée : « Il ne faudrait pas conclure que les Français, dont on a dit qu'ils n'ont pas la tête épique et dont on aurait dit avec plus de justesse qu'ils n'avaient ni un climat ni une société, ni une langue épique, il ne faut pas conclure, disais-je, qu'ils n'aient jamais aspiré à la gloire supérieure à toutes les autres qui résulte de l'épopée. » Et encore une fois il fait valoir les droits de *Télémaque* au titre d'épopée, « si une épopée peut être écrite en prose. » Les notes de M. Dusillet sont un peu embrouillées à cet endroit, mais la question : les Français ont-ils la tête épique ? est franchement posée. C'est une question à laquelle Nodier reviendra lui-même et les grands romantiques après lui — notamment Victor Hugo. (Voir p. 92-3).

L'admission de Bernardin de Saint-Pierre et de Chateaubriand dans cette liste marque un pas en avant du point de vue du romantisme : Bernardin de Saint-Pierre qui va fournir à la nouvelle école le sentiment de la nature ; Chateaubriand qui doit en devenir le premier dieu. Et Nodier a justement saisi chez Chateaubriand le côté par lequel celui-ci va exercer

surtout son influence sur le romantisme, l'inspiration chrétienne et biblique : « L'homme de génie, écrit-il, imprime aux traductions qu'il entreprend un sceau d'invention et d'originalité ; c'est de cette manière que M. Chateaubriand traduit la Bible, si toutefois traduire est ici le terme propre, car traduire de cette manière, c'est créer. »

Il parle de l'imagination vive et sensible de M^{me} de Staël, mais n'insiste pas sur ses idées ; ce sera plus tard qu'il subira son influence. De nouveau il loue Fielding « qui a réuni l'ingénieuse gaîté de Le Sage à la sensibilité pathétique de Prévost ». Il place Richardson parmi les observateurs les plus subtils, Théophraste, Molière, La Bruyère et la Roche(foucault) ; et parmi les moralistes les plus respectables, entre Platon, Marc Aurèle et Pascal. » « Swift et Sterne réveilleront dans notre mémoire le souvenir de notre vieux Rabelais... Rabelais est plus gai et plus profond. »

Il y a deux passages encore à relever de la première partie où apparaissent déjà les préoccupations du futur auteur de *Jean Sbogar* et de *Lord Ruthwen* d'une part, et de *Tribby* d'autre part, et ils annoncent ce qu'on pourrait dénommer le romantisme plus particulièrement propre à Nodier.

Voici le premier : « Nous tirâmes de l'Angleterre ces histoires monstrueuses, ces parodies incroyables, ces lugubres fantasmagories qui ont rendu le nom d'Anne Radcliffe et de ses imitateurs, ridiculement immortels ¹. »

Et voici le second : « Le genre de conte qui a fait le charme de nos premières années et qui nous délasse encore quelquefois des lectures sérieuses, mérite du moins quelque reconnaissance : Les féeries de Perrault et de M^{lle} de Suberte, de M^{me} Douluvie, du comte de Caylus, celles qu'on a traduites de langue arabe sous le titre des *Mille et une Nuits* et presque

1. Nodier a rigoureusement condamné le genre frénétique, non seulement à cette époque, mais dans toute son œuvre critique, même au moment où il le pratiquait lui-même d'une façon si évidente dans ses romans et ses drames.

tous les amusants écrits qu'on a recueillis dans la collection du *Cabinet des Fées*, n'ont point à redouter de nous un injuste mépris. »

Dans la deuxième partie du cours, consacrée à l'art poétique, les divisions qui concernent l'épopée et le poème dramatique sont les plus intéressantes. Quant à l'épopée, la leçon d'ouverture avait annoncé : « Nous nous occuperons des règles du poème épique et nous en ferons l'application aux chefs-d'œuvre d'Homère et de Virgile, du Dante, de Klopstock et de Milton, plus incorrects mais souvent plus élevés, du Tasse et de Voltaire, plus froids mais presque toujours aussi purs. » Au sujet de Dante il ajoute : « *Sa Divine comédie* et en particulier son *Enfer* portent le sceau d'une imagination aussi sublime que bizarre et qui n'avait besoin que de guide ¹. » « Ossian ² est l'ami des cœurs détrompés, c'est le poète de la tristesse et du malheur ». Nodier ne se contente pas d'admirer seulement cette nouvelle littérature ; il tâche de se rendre compte de son origine : « La société était parvenue à un point où toutes les passions de l'homme arrivées à leur apogée devaient produire une révolution sensible dans l'ordre des idées littéraires... Le beau simple et touchant et les idées naïves et pures des premiers siècles ne satisfaisaient plus l'imagination ardente et détrompée des générations adultes. De là naquit cette poésie nouvelle, si justement admirée, si justement condamnée, cette école sublime et vicieuse qui a

1. Tout ceci dénote un goût qui est tout à fait inconscient de ses contradictions et qui est la marque de l'enthousiasme d'un très jeune homme : D'une part c'est Voltaire placé à côté d'Homère, de l'autre c'est Dante, Klopstock et Milton placés plus haut qu'Homère !

2. Nodier croit dans ce cours à l'existence réelle d'Ossian, et, chose curieuse, il établit sa croyance sur des motifs philologiques. Dès 1814, cependant, il écrit dans les *Débats* (7 juin) : « Tout le monde sait maintenant que ce fameux Ossian est une espèce de barde collectif sous le nom duquel Macpherson a publié de longs et nombreux poèmes » et dans les *Préliminaires* (1832), à Jean Sbogar, il parle des « supercheres épiques de Macpherson », (p. 81).

fait tant d'ennemis et tant de prosélytes et au milieu de laquelle Klopstock s'élève ¹ ».

La discussion du drame est extrêmement habile et irrésistiblement fait penser à la *Préface de Cromwell*. Il n'y a que la conclusion qui soit faible, mais c'est toutefois un exemple type de la plupart des conclusions du cours, conclusions qui en constituent le grand défaut. L'auteur après avoir exprimé ses propres idées, ajoute, comme par acquit de conscience, telle soi-disant conclusion dans laquelle on reconnaît facilement le vague ressouvenir d'un enseignement littéraire traditionnel, dont il ne s'est pas encore tout à fait affranchi. « Le drame proprement dit, déclare Nodier, est un genre mixte, c'est-à-dire qui admet les parties constitutives de l'un et de l'autre (comédie et tragédie) et qui fait subir aux spectateurs les émotions les plus diverses. On ne peut disconvenir que ce genre n'offre quelque chose de plus naturel que les deux premiers, car il n'y a pas d'événement dans l'ordre de la vie qui ne soit modifié par quelque circonstance opposée à la sienne et il ne se passe aucune action qui ne soit concourru (*sic*) [probablement : à l'accomplissement de laquelle ne concourent des personnes de conditions différentes — le lecteur n'oublie pas que ce sont ici des notes prises *ex tempore* par un étudiant]. à son accomplissement par des personnes de conditions différentes. Mais [et voici la conclusion fâcheuse et inconséquente tout à fait, car on sent, malgré tout, que Nodier est d'accord avec les partisans du drame] cette considération, que les partisans allèguent pour sa défense, est détruite d'avance par les principes immuables d'imitation et du beau idéal qui exige non seulement la vérité mais encore le choix des peintures. »

Quant aux unités, il est plus indépendant : L'unité d'action est nécessaire ² ; pour celles de temps et lieu, avant de juger il

1. Cette idée de l'influence de la société sur la littérature va faire fortune comme doctrine romantique.

2. Cf. « L'unité d'action ou d'ensemble, la seule vraie et fondée » de la *Préface de Cromwell*.

attendra des chefs-d'œuvre qui les dédaignent. Ceci l'amène tout naturellement à Shakespeare. Presque tout ce qu'il dit de celui-ci mérite d'être cité. C'est un véritable enthousiasme qui l'inspire et depuis la publication des *Pensées* il s'est vraiment rendu compte de la grandeur de Shakespeare, de son imagination exquise, de sa parfaite fantaisie ; il a découvert le monde surnaturel de Shakespeare où plus tard il ira lui-même si souvent puiser son inspiration. Ce n'est plus un philosophe mélancolique, plus ou moins de sa propre invention, qui le passionne en Shakespeare ; c'est le poète : « Tantôt il revêt ses personnages d'un coloris terrible, comme les sorcières de *Macbeth*, tantôt tout ce que la poésie a de grâce, tout ce que l'imagination a, pour ainsi dire, de délicat, d'aérien se trouve réuni dans la peinture de ses fées et de ses génies... Il est grand comme la nature, et sauvage, inculte, inégal comme elle, sans égard pour les lois du théâtre, pour les préceptes du goût... c'est un géant énorme, démesuré qui plonge sa tête dans le ciel, mais ce géant a des pieds d'argile ¹. »

Je m'arrêterai moins sur les considérations de Nodier relatives à d'autres écrivains étrangers : les conceptions d'Alfieri lui « rappellent la pureté du trait de Raphaël et la vigueur des pinceaux de Michel-Ange » ; il parle des « reproductions quelquefois délirantes et souvent sublimes de Schiller... c'est de son sein qu'est sortie cette Muse équivoque qui porte d'une de ses mains le masque et la marotte, de l'autre le poignard, et qui singulièrement accoutrée de vêtements étrangers, déploie un manteau composé de lambeaux de pourpre et de bure inégalement assortis — c'est d'elle que nous vient le genre mixte du drame, qui florit encore sous la plume romanesque. »

Mais on ne me le contestera point : ce cours inédit est un trésor pour le chercheur désireux de remonter aux sources

1. Encore une fois une conclusion mêlée d'idées qui semblent arriérées à côté de celles qui les précèdent.

de la *Préface de Cromwell*. Nodier, dans ses préoccupations de 1808, se montre déjà le critique remuant les grands problèmes littéraires du lendemain et les remuant avec une remarquable hardiesse d'idées.

Les quelques années qui suivent furent consacrées plutôt à des études d'entomologie et de bibliographie qu'à la littérature pure. Nodier préparait, cependant, ses *Questions de littérature légale* ¹. L'importance accordée à des idées de critique purement littéraire nous permet de le signaler comme le premier d'une longue et honorable série de travaux critiques que Nodier fournira aux journaux et aux revues de son temps, et dont relativement très peu ont été recueillis dans son volume : *Mélanges de littérature et de critique* (Paris, Raymond, 1820, 2 vol.). C'est ce livre qui lança Nodier dans le journalisme. Le 15 septembre 1812, il écrit de Lons-le-Saulnier à Jean de Bry : « Mes *Questions de littérature légale* dont il a été rendu compte dans le *Journal de l'Empire* du 23 août ont attiré, je ne sais comment, une espèce d'attention : Etienne m'attache à la rédaction des journaux. J'irai ². »

Mais ce plan ne se réalisa pas tout de suite de la façon dont Nodier avait pensé. Cinq jours après cette lettre, Nodier fut nommé bibliothécaire à Laybach dans les provinces illyriennes, et là, pendant plusieurs mois il rédigea le journal officiel des provinces : *Le Télégraphe*.

M. Vorslav Yovanovitch dans sa thèse, *La Guzla de Prosper Mérimée* ³ consacre plusieurs pages à ce journal. N'ayant pu obtenir communication de la collection qui en existe à Laybach, il se documente d'après deux articles dont les auteurs avaient connu le *Télégraphe* ⁴.

1. Paris, Barba, 1812.

2. Boyer de Sainte-Suzanne : *Notes d'un curieux : Lettres inédites de Charles Nodier à Jean de Bry*. Monaco, 1878, 300 exemplaires numérotés.

3. Paris, Hachette, 1911, in-8°.

4. M. Yovanovitch constate : « On ne trouve ce journal ni à la Bibliothèque nationale, ni dans aucune autre bibliothèque de France. » Les numé-

1^o *Les journaux français dans les provinces illyriennes pendant la période impériale*, par M. l'abbé Pisani, *Bulletin Critique*, 15 nov. 1887, p. 433.

2^o *Prosper Mérimée et Mystification Kroatischer Volkslieder* par J. Matié, *Archiv für Slavische Philologie*, 1906, t. XXVIII, p. 321, et 1907, t. XXIX, p. 49.

Selon l'article de M. Pisani, « les Français ont publié entre 1806 et 1813 non pas un, mais trois journaux différents », soit :

Juillet 1806-11 avril 1820, *Regio Dalmatia*, journal hebdomadaire en italien et slave.

1^{er} janvier 1811-24 août 1813, d'abord à Trieste, *Corriere Illirico*, en italien et allemand ; ensuite à Laybach, le *Télégraphe Officiel*, en français et allemand, et à Trieste, jusqu'au 26 septembre 1813 :

N^{os} 69-71 en français, allemand et italien.

N^{os} 72-76 en français et italien.

Et il ajoute : « C'est ce qui a donné lieu à la légende du journal polyglotte ¹. »

La bibliothèque de Laybach possède, dit l'abbé Pisani, deux collections de l'édition française du *Télégraphe Officiel*, (1^{er} janvier 1811-24 août 1813), et une collection de l'édition allemande. Dans son article il indique d'une façon générale la collaboration de Nodier : « Nous ne trouvons, il est vrai, sa

ros 72-76, du 16-26 sept. 1813 existent cependant au ministère des Affaires étrangères où je les ai examinés. Publiés à la veille de l'évacuation des provinces par les Français, ils sont naturellement remplis d'articles et de nouvelles purement politiques et n'ont aucun intérêt littéraire. L'existence de ces numéros a été signalée dans un compte rendu du livre de M. Yovanovitch dans la *Revue d'Histoire littéraire*, t. XVIII, 1911, p. 959.

1. Bibl. de Besançon, manuscrit 618, *Lettre de Nodier à M. Béchet, général de préfecture à Lons-le-Saunier* : « Le 13 mai (1813). — Tout ce que vous dites là est très juste, mon cher Béchet, j'ai eu tort, mais je vous prie de vouloir bien vous rappeler que j'en suis arrivé ce matin au numéro 940 de ma correspondance, que la moitié de mon journal est traduite sur les journaux italiens, ceux de France nous arrivant rarement et avec difficultés et que je fais ce journal à moi tout seul, à la composition et au tirage près. Joignez à cela la Bibliothèque qui exige résidence mais où je ne vais guère et les visites

signature qu'au bas d'avis indiquant aux lecteurs les moyens de faire parvenir à la direction les vingt francs, prix de l'abonnement. Mais on reconnaît sans peine l'auteur des articles qui paraissent dans le corps du journal. « Sous cette rubrique toujours neuve : « On nous écrit de Palerme ou du Caire ou de Berlin... » nous retrouvons toujours la même langue pure et élégante, le même style limpide et brillant, une argumentation serrée et ingénieuse qui ne laisse aucun doute sur l'identité des nombreux correspondants que le *Télégraphe Officiel des Provinces illyriennes* devait entretenir à l'étranger. Enfin sous le titre de *Variétés* nous voyons paraître des études fort curieuses sur les peuples slaves, leurs mœurs, leur langue, leur littérature, et des articles de critique littéraire ou théâtrale qui sont tous dûs à la plume féconde qui devait produire tant de morceaux délicats. Nodier s'est contenté d'écrire dans sa langue maternelle des pages charmantes qui méritaient mieux que de dormir oubliées dans la poussière d'une bibliothèque étrangère. » Nodier était du même avis et ne manqua pas de réimprimer quelques-uns du moins de ces articles ¹.

éternelles auxquelles il faut se condamner malgré ce que l'on dit. Vous verrez qu'il reste très peu de temps pour écrire à mes amis, quoiqu'on les aime autant et mieux que jamais... Vous ne vous êtes jamais promené à travers les neiges des Alpes italiennes ou le long de cette belle rivière de Save qui a vu le voyage des Argonautes ou sous les sapins d'Unter-Thouren. Vous ne connaissez ni mes Camiolaïens ni mes Croates ni mes Merliques... Bonjour, mon bon ami, vel amice, ossia mi caro, illi criategl dobar, oder Freund gut, car je ne sais plus que'le langue je parle et les nouvelles me font perdre les anciennes. »

I. M. Léonce Pingaud, professeur à l'Université de Besançon, a bien voulu me communiquer une liste des articles de Nodier dans le *Télégraphe*, liste rédigée par l'abbé Pisani et qui précise les indications ci-dessus :

Articles de Nodier, seulement en 1813 :

- 17 janv. Statistique Illyrienne.
- 21 janv. L'Entomologia carnotica de Scapoli, article bibliographique.
- 28 janv. Méthode pour écrire l'Histoire Illyrienne.
- 4 févr. Sur l'apologue, à propos des fables d'Arnault.
- 11 févr. Observations sur le sol de Laybach et de ses environs.
- 7, 18, 25 mars. Carmina : accedunt selecta poemata, trois articles sur les poésies du ragusain Pappardini.

Les études de Nodier sur la poésie, les coutumes et le paysage illyriens fournirent à son romantisme un trait assez particulier. Comme dit M. Yovanovitch : « Son séjour de huit mois à Laybach et de trente jours à Trieste dans une pension allemande valut à Nodier la réputation de se connaître aux choses d'Illyrie, réputation qui persista jusqu'à sa mort ». Si les Allemands et les Anglais s'imposaient, planaient pour ainsi dire, sur tout le premier romantisme, Nodier allait puiser à une source nouvelle dans les choses illyriennes. Après la belle étude de M. Yovanovitch, il faut admettre que les connaissances de Nodier sur l'Illyrie n'étaient pas très profondes ni très sérieuses ¹. Il ne faut pas oublier, cependant, qu'à cette

4 avril. Sur une édition de Stabon : Extraits touchant l'Illyrie.

11 avril. Poésies Illyriennes, les Chansons Morlaques.

22, 25 avril. Article sur les Refflessioni economico-politiche sopra la Dalmazia, publiées en 1806 par Giauluca Garagnin.

27 mai. La langue illyrienne, d'après les travaux de Kreglianovic et du comte Sorga, auteur d'un mémoire sur l'ancien slave (tissu de contresens que Nodier accepte de confiance).

3 et 6 juin. Suite.

13 juin. Etude sur le roman : Marie ou les peines du monde, par Louis, frère de Napoléon.

20 juin. Poésies illyriennes, 4^e article, Le Vers Luisant de Ignazio Groigi.

20 juin. Le dictionnaire latin-allemand-slave de l'abbé Vadnik.

4 juillet. Statistique illyrienne : Description pittoresque.

15 juillet. Costumes des Morlaques.

22 juillet. Climat de Dalmatie.

25 juillet. Les vents dominants dans l'Adriatique.

29 juillet. Costumes des Morlaques.

31 août, Topographie de Raguse.

Plus rien signé de Nodier. La collaboration a dû être interrompue à cette époque et aurait duré huit mois.

Les articles sur la littérature slave du *Journal des Débats*, 4 et 21 févr. 1821, sont faits, comme l'a indiqué M. Yovanovitch d'après les articles du *Télégraphe* du 11, 22, 25 avril et du 20 juin. Il me semble plus que probable que l'article sur l'Illyrie des *Mélanges* a la même relation aux articles du *Télégraphe* du 28 janv., 4, 15 et 29 juillet et que le même rapport existe entre un article de la *Quotidienne*, 15 janv. 1821, sur Laybach et l'article du 11 février du *Télégraphe*.

1. Dans *Jean Sbogar*, par exemple, M. Yovanovitch ne trouve de véridique que les descriptions du pays et des costumes ; le *Bey Spalatin*, ajouté au volume de *Smarra*, est une pure invention de Nodier ; sa traduction définitive de la *Ballade d'Asan Aga* est faite d'après la traduction de

date personne ne songeait aux recherches scientifiques d'aujourd'hui, et il est incontestable que Nodier rapporta d'Illyrie un élément de pittoresque et de fantastique qui se manifesta dès ce moment dans son œuvre et ne fut pas sans influence sur ses contemporains.

B. Œuvre originale.

Pendant ces premières années de travail littéraire, Nodier ne s'est pas borné cependant à des études critiques. Son premier roman : *Les Proscrits*¹ date de 1802 ; le deuxième : *Le Peintre de Saltzbourg*², de 1803. Le sous titre de ce dernier : « Journal des émotions d'un cœur souffrant » (cette même mélancolie se retrouvera dans les *Tristes, tableaux d'un Suicidé*, publié en 1806), indique le genre ; quant à l'inspiration Wertherienne des deux romans, elle a été soulignée par tous ceux qui se sont occupés de l'œuvre de Nodier. Ici, encore une fois, s'affirme chez lui ce goût littéraire qui plus tard sera appelé romantique : Il décrit la bibliothèque du héros des *Proscrits*, au chap. VI : « Le premier des livres, la Bible — vingt-cinq ans avant la *Préface de Cromwell* ! — avait le premier rang ; près d'elle était placé le *Messie* de Klopstock : c'était le poème de la religion à côté de ses annales ; plus bas je distinguai Montaigne qui est le philosophe du cœur humain entre Shakespeare qui en est le peintre et Richardson qui en est l'historien ; Rousseau, Sterne et un petit nombre d'autres venaient ensuite. » Et dans le *Peintre de Saltzbourg* le peintre dit : « Voulais-je partir ? J'avais tout oublié, mon papier, mes crayons et mon Ossian. » (p. 49). Ce roman révèle d'ailleurs chez Nodier une note nouvelle qui jouera un grand

Fortis et de son traducteur bernois ; ses noms propres sont souvent empruntés au livre de Fortis : *Le Voyage de Dalmatie* (1774), traduction française publiée à Berne, 1778 ; il a exagéré l'importance du vampirisme et il imagine que le poète serbe ne chantait que cette monstrueuse superstition.

1. Paris, chez Lepetit et Géraud, 1802, in-12.

2. Paris, chez Maradan, libraire, an IX.

rôle dans le développement de son romantisme, c'est-à-dire sa préoccupation du surnaturel et du fantastique. « Les inspirations superstitieuses, écrit-il, et les rêveries crédules sont filles de la solitude et des ténèbres. Qui m'empêche de donner à ce château des habitants et des mystères, de gémir sur le sort d'une épouse opprimée qui meurt dans ses souterrains et d'envoyer sur ses tours les vieilles ombres de ses anciens possesseurs ? » (p. 48).

En 1804, Nodier avait publié le premier recueil de vers qui fussent entièrement sortis de sa plume : *Essais d'un jeune Barde*¹. Sans rien renfermer d'une vraie beauté, il est quand même intéressant à cause des renseignements qu'il fournit sur l'état d'esprit du poète. Il invoque encore le « divin Shakespeare » ; une des pièces y est de nouveau inspirée de la Bible : *L'Epoux et l'Epouse*, traduction en prose et en vers du *Cantique des Cantiques* ; une autre est la traduction de la *Violette* de Goethe.

Le romantisme de Nodier dans cette première période de sa production littéraire se manifeste sous deux formes :

1^o Mélancolie, pessimisme, sensibilité, tirées principalement du *Werther*.

2^o Admiration des littératures étrangères.

PÉRIODE DE MATURITÉ

A. *Œuvre critique.*

[Pour les articles de Nodier dans les journaux et les revues entre 1813 et 1827 voir la table à la fin du livre. Le volume *Mélanges de littérature et de critique* renferme une cinquantaine de ces articles qui parurent avant 1820. Les autres de cette

1. Paris, chez M^{me} Cavanagh, libraire, nouveau passage du Panorama et à Besançon, chez M. Deis, libraire, an XII.

période que nous examinons et ceux de la période postérieure (i. e. jusqu'à 1827) n'ont jamais été recueillis].

Dans le cours de Dôle, Nodier avait montré déjà des goûts littéraires franchement romantiques. Il ne s'y abandonne pas cependant tout de suite. En effet, quand il réfléchit et commence à imprimer ses essais de critique, bref, quand il n'est plus tout à fait jeune, il devient moins hardi. Les idées traditionnelles en littérature semblent inconsciemment se glisser sous sa plume. Le romantisme, cependant, a un charme irrésistible pour lui, et peu à peu sa critique redevient plus hardie, plus indépendante ; il recommence à évoluer ; et, partant d'idées anti-romantiques, il arrive à être un romantique avoué et ardent. S'il avait été, déjà une fois, romantique inconscient, il devient maintenant romantique conscient. C'est en 1813 que Nodier entra aux *Débats*. Entre cette date et celle à laquelle s'arrête mon étude, 1827, sa collaboration aux journaux et aux revues fut soutenue et considérable. Un examen rapide des sujets de ses articles révèle une diversité d'intérêts étonnante. On passe des feuilletons dramatiques à des compte-rendus de volumes d'histoire naturelle ; d'une description de paysage illyrien à une étude sur le gaz hydrogène ; de considérations sur l'enseignement mutuel à l'éloge d'un écrivain contemporain quelconque, français ou étranger, classique ou romantique. C'est bien là Nodier. Toutefois il y a quelques préoccupations qui l'obsèdent, quelques idées qui ressortent dans cette œuvre de critique si vaste et si hétérogène : mentionnons 1^o Shakespeare, 2^o Le culte du moyen âge, et de l'ancienne France en particulier, 3^o Le genre romantique.

Dans l'étude de ces sujets, j'adopterai le plan indiqué tout à l'heure, c'est-à-dire, je suivrai l'évolution des idées anti-romantiques aux idées romantiques chez Nodier, avec, entre ces deux, chaque fois, une période de transition.

1^o *Shakespeare.*

Il faut noter d'abord un grand nombre d'articles consacrés à la littérature étrangère ; ainsi : Les articles sur le cours de littérature dramatique de Schlegel publiés dans le *Journal des Débats*, 1814 ; sur Madame de Staël dans le même journal en 1818 ; sur les chefs-d'œuvre du théâtre étranger dans le même journal, et dans la *Quotidienne*, en 1822 ; sur Walter Scott dans *La Quotidienne*, 1820 et 1823 ; sur Cooper dans le même journal, 1822 ; sur le *Vampire* dans *Le Drapeau Blanc*, 1819 ; sur *Hamlet* dans le *Journal des Débats*, 1814, et sur l'édition de Shakespeare de Guizot dans *La Foudre*, 1821 ; sur la *Divine Comédie* de Dante dans le *Journal des Débats*, 1819. Ces études sur les grands romantiques étrangers (car qu'il s'agisse de l'Angleterre, de l'Allemagne ou de l'Italie, ce sont toujours des écrivains romantiques qu'il traite) lui permirent de formuler sa doctrine romantique propre et de l'appliquer aux besoins particuliers de la littérature française. Elles devaient offrir un point de départ admirable à sa critique postérieure ; il est à remarquer en effet que ce sont les premières années de l'œuvre critique de Nodier qui sont dominées par l'intérêt qu'il prend à la littérature étrangère, tandis que plus tard cet intérêt sera relégué à l'arrière-plan pour servir d'appui aux théories qu'il sera en train de formuler pour la littérature française naissante. On peut dire ainsi que l'évolution du mouvement en France sera presque une image nette de l'évolution individuelle de Nodier : d'abord, admiration des chefs-d'œuvre étrangers, ensuite application de leurs principes à la littérature française.

Suivons son attitude vis-à-vis de Shakespeare à travers cette œuvre critique :

Débats, 4 mars 1814, cours de Schlegel : « Le genre romantique est une invention fausse... Quant aux poètes qu'on a rangés dans cette catégorie, ils n'y appartiennent que par leurs

fautes. Je suis très loin de contester leur génie et de méconnaître le beau dans leurs ouvrages, quelque éloignés que soient ceux-ci des chefs-d'œuvre des classiques... Shakespeare ne le cède point à Eschyle dans la plupart des scènes de *Macbeth*, d'*Hamlet* et de *Richard III* ; et il l'emporte sur Euripide dans la peinture des infortunes de Juliette, du désespoir de Constance et du délire d'Ophélie ; mais alors il devient classique et on ne peut que regretter qu'il ne l'ait pas toujours été. »

Cette fois ce sont les doctrines classiques qui ont triomphé franchement ; dans d'autres passages, nous le verrons, ce seront les goûts romantiques, tandis qu'en d'autres, enfin, la possibilité d'une réconciliation entre les deux se présente.

Dans le même journal, de la même année (13 juin, feuilleton dramatique), il discute un « ballet », *Antoine et Cléopâtre* : « L'auteur du ballet s'est éloigné de Shakespeare dans le rôle obligé du paysan qui apporte un aspic à Cléopâtre ; il n'en a pas fait, comme on s'y serait attendu, un personnage grotesque. C'était un moyen d'égayer un peu la solennité inaltérable de cette pantomime, et ce moyen était d'autant plus permis que la pantomime n'est pas soumise à l'unité de ton et de couleur qu'on exige dans tous les genres du drame. Elle n'a pas encore son Aristote. Shakespeare a été plus hardi. Son paysan est une espèce de bouffon que les Anglais trouvent très plaisant et que notre auteur n'osa pas montrer tel qu'il était par respect pour nos bienséances. »

Le passage est amusant à analyser : D'une part Nodier avait aimé le rôle du paysan dans la pièce shakespearienne ; il avait trouvé bon que cette solennité « fût égayée un peu ». D'autre part, les règles du drame exigent l'unité de ton. Alors il cherche un moyen de conserver le grotesque sans manquer d'égard envers Aristote. Il le trouve, en constatant que le ballet, genre qu'il considère en ce moment, n'a pas de traditions, de sorte qu'un auteur aurait été libre d'introduire des éléments qui ne seraient pas permis dans le drame. Or Shakes-

peare avait eu le courage de les introduire dans le drame, et Nodier en le louant, admet, en somme, le grotesque dans le drame aussi bien que dans le ballet. Cette confusion semble une étape inévitable dans l'effort que fait l'esprit, assez peu logique, de Nodier pour arriver à concilier les nouvelles pratiques qu'il aime et les anciennes doctrines auxquelles il n'est pas encore prêt à renoncer.

Ainsi dans l'esprit de Nodier un combat a lieu entre l'inconsciente préférence personnelle et les principes traditionnels. Or ce sont ces derniers qui l'emportent encore un mois plus tard dans un article des *Débats* (11 juillet 1814, feuilleton dramatique, *Edouard d'Ecosse*) : « Ce qui reste en question c'est de savoir jusqu'à quel point il est possible de rappeler Shakespeare sur notre théâtre d'une manière avantageuse pour ses progrès. Je crois que cette entreprise est tout à fait opposée à la direction de notre esprit national, qu'elle favorise l'invasion de l'école romantique et que si le mélodrame se multiplie au Théâtre Français, le Théâtre Français est perdu. »

Ajoutons encore ici un extrait de son compte rendu du *Hamlet* de Ducis (*Débats*, 14 mai 1814), qui résume toutes ses pensées sur Shakespeare : d'un côté admiration pour son génie, d'autre, crainte de son influence : « Je ne suis pas l'admirateur outré de Shakespeare ; je lui tiens compte de son génie sans fermer les yeux sur ses erreurs ; je me garde bien de recommander son école aux poètes qui ont eu le bonheur d'avoir formé leur talent à celle d'Euripide et de Racine ; mais je ne vois comment on peut nier que cette scène [il s'agit de la scène des fossoyeurs qui avait scandalisé les critiques] soit faite de génie. Elle est peut-être disparate mais elle est bien conçue en elle-même et d'une vigueur de pinceau qui va jusqu'au sublime autant qu'on peut s'en approcher sans noblesse. C'est un Holbein ou un Rembrandt dans la galerie de Michel-Ange » ; et plus loin, après une citation de « La mort c'est le sommeil, c'est un rêve peut-être... » il

écrit : « C'est le cœur de l'homme dans toute sa tristesse ; c'est un des sentiments propres aux sociétés modernes qui ont été exprimés depuis avec tant de force par Goethe, par Schiller, par M. de Chateaubriand surtout, mais que Shakespeare découvrait en quelque sorte et dans la peinture desquels personne ne le surpasse. »

Petit à petit Nodier se montrait moins réservé dans l'expression de son admiration pour Shakespeare. Il formule deux raisons, plutôt deux excuses pour se justifier de trouver tout admirable chez lui. Ces excuses se rattachent chacune à une tendresse particulière de Nodier, l'une pour le mélodrame, et l'autre pour le fantastique ; — mais, par acquit de conscience, il se donna la peine de découvrir, pour les mieux camper, une théorie ou une doctrine. On trouve dès 1814 les germes de ces théories ou doctrines :

1^o Il s'agit de justifier le mélange des genres chez Shakespeare : Nodier le fera en rattachant le drame de Shakespeare au mélodrame et il reconnaît au mélodrame le droit de se développer hors des règles parce que les anciens n'ont pas laissé de modèle pour ce genre ¹ :

Journal des Débats, 20 mars 1814, feuilleton dramatique, *La Rançon de Duguesclin* : « Si l'on a la hardiesse d'établir ce genre chez nous, il ne faut pas être téméraire à demi. Il faut le créer comme les anciens l'eussent fait sans doute, libre de toute gêne, et c'est une entreprise qui demande l'autorité d'un grand talent. » Et à la fin de l'article il introduit Shakespeare : « Que l'auteur (Arnault) relise Shakespeare dont il paraît avoir fait une grande étude ; il sentira bien que si Shakespeare a su rendre intéressantes des circonstances que notre public a trouvé triviales et puériles, c'est qu'elles n'étaient pour Shakespeare qu'un accessoire extrêmement faible dans un tableau immense. C'était un coup de pinceau naïf qui faisait

1. C'est la conclusion logique du passage déjà analysé.

valoir les traits vigoureux, les teintes fortes et sublimes auxquelles il était opposé. »

En 1817 (*Débats* du 27 novembre, *La Gaule Poétique*), il franchit le dernier pas et constate qu'« au génie près, les tragédies de Shakespeare ne sont que des mélodrames »; et le voilà débarrassé pour tout de bon de la nécessité gênante de défendre contre les classiques les pratiques de Shakespeare.

2^o L'autre élément réfractaire de Shakespeare qui tentait Nodier sans que celui-ci cédât d'abord à cette inclination hétérodoxe c'était le fantastique. Les « êtres intermédiaires » de Shakespeare l'avaient séduit. En 1814 (*Débats*, 4 février, *La Littérature slave*) il parle des « concerts nocturnes de Puck, d'Ariel et de tous les lutins de Shakespeare, lorsque nouvellement sortis des fleurs et encore humides de rosée ils forment des chants que les hommes n'ont jamais entendus. » Il les trouvait si délicieux qu'il ne leur adressait pas de critique bien que les règles classiques rigoureusement appliquées l'y eussent convié. Au lieu de cela il en vient, comme nous le verrons à propos de *Trilby*, à tirer une partie importante de sa pratique littéraire du rôle du fantastique. Comment cette innovation sera-t-elle justifiée auprès du critique sévère ? L'introduction aux *Voyages Pittoresques et Romantiques* (1820) nous livre le secret. La doctrine du caractère essentiellement chrétien du moyen âge faisait grand chemin à l'époque de la Restauration. Augmentée du culte patriotique pour les monuments antiques de la France, elle suffit pour engager Nodier dans une étude enthousiaste de la vieille littérature, — où il allait trouver des modèles encore, pour le fantastique, qui, malgré lui, en quelque sorte, le passionnait : « Autour des débris... vivent toujours les traditions merveilleuses de ces temps ingénus et crédules, âge d'ignorance et d'imagination... Nous aimons à recueillir dans les vieux donjons la fable de la fée protectrice, dans les hameaux celle du lutin familier. Nous retrouverons Mélusine sur ses tours et les follets de Carnac errant en robe de flamme à travers leurs sauvages pyra-

mides. Ce sont là des préjugés sans doute ; mais la mythologie des peuples anciens se composait aussi de préjugés, et ces mensonges enchanteurs sont devenus la poésie de tous les peuples... Notre vieille mythologie a été pour les modernes qui ont su en user une mine presque inépuisable de trésors. C'est à elle que le Dante a emprunté ces tableaux terribles qui ont inspiré Michel-Ange ; Shakespeare, ses sorcières si redoutables, ses esprits si aériens, ses fées si aimables... Elle anime enfin aujourd'hui le génie de Byron ¹. »

Ainsi débarrassé de ses scrupules contre certaines pratiques de Shakespeare, Nodier se trouva libre de donner expression à sa profonde et sympathique admiration ; c'est le point d'arrivée, la dernière étape de sa critique shakespearienne. On pourrait citer nombre de passages. Ainsi *La Foudre* (1821) publiait un article de Nodier sur l'édition de Shakespeare de Guizot dans lequel Shakespeare est appelé « ce génie grand comme la nature, inégal comme elle et comme elle admirable jusque dans ses monstruosité. Tout est vrai dans Shakespeare et la magie même prend sous sa plume un naturel exquis. »

2^o *Le Moyen Age.*

Les Voyages Pittoresques expriment l'enthousiasme auquel s'était graduellement élevé Nodier pour les antiquités nationales et inaugurent chez lui le culte patriotique du moyen âge ². Ce devait être et ce fut également un livre de propagande pour le culte gothique.

1. Il ne faut pas trop reprocher à Nodier cette recherche d'autorités. Sainte-Beuve lui-même trouva dans le xvi^e siècle les ancêtres des poètes romantiques qui en tirèrent grand profit auprès des critiques.

2. En effet, c'est un des deux points du culte que l'école romantique vouera plus tard au moyen âge, cette idée que les racines du patriotisme français plongent dans les profondeurs du moyen âge. L'autre c'est que l'Eglise est fille du moyen âge, l'Eglise, mère du monde féerique, — fantastique chez Nodier, grotesque chez Victor Hugo.

Les belles conceptions architecturales n'étaient pas cependant les seules ni les premières qu'il admirât dans le moyen âge ; son attention, avait été d'abord attirée par la littérature et son admiration ne s'exprima librement qu'après une évolution des idées analogue à celle que j'ai constatée dans son attitude envers les auteurs étrangers. Ici le développement est même plus intéressant encore, car il n'éprouvait d'abord que mépris pour la littérature du moyen âge. Considérons successivement ses idées sur la littérature et l'architecture du moyen âge.

Dans un compte rendu du cours d'Aimé Martin (*Débats*, 15 février 1814), Nodier écrivait à propos d'une poésie naissante : « On la trouvera souvent inculte, sauvage et demi barbare mais presque toujours fière, hardie, ingénieusement forte et quelquefois sublime. Nous faisons à cette règle une rare et affligeante exception. Nos troubadours et trouvères si renommés ne sont presque des poètes que par le rythme ». Mais deux jours après, dans le même journal, sans se rendre compte de son inconséquence, le même Nodier écrivait (*Débats*, 16 février 1814 : *Des erreurs et des préjugés répandus dans la Société* par J.-B. Salgues) : « Dieu sait quel charme tous les agréables mensonges qu'on nous dérobe avaient pour nos bons aïeux et de quelles douces illusions ils ont encore amusé notre jeunesse. Hélas ! elles sont perdues pour jamais, les merveilleuses conversations du foyer. On ne croira plus aux apparitions des vieux châtelains, aux tours de passe-passe de la fée protectrice et du lutin familier et à cette foule de beaux récits qu'on trouvait toujours trop courts ». Un jour il devait découvrir que le moyen âge si hautement méprisé par les classiques était justement la source de ces féeries qui répondaient à un besoin de sa nature romantique et faisaient ses délices. Mais combien il est loin de voir clair en lui-même. Le 1^{er} juin 1814, il écrivait : « Les cinq premiers siècles de la poésie sont en France ce qu'ils sont partout, un chaos... Ce n'est guère que du moment où l'on peut dire avec Boileau :

Enfin Malherbe vint, que cette histoire devint curieuse, attachante et digne de l'intérêt de toutes les classes d'auditeurs ». Quelques années seulement et l'auteur de ces mots était franchement romantique !

Voici un autre passage de la même année, montrant que l'esprit de Nodier est troublé par cette question de la valeur du moyen âge, et qu'il se rend compte de la lutte que nous avons constatée entre ses goûts et ses principes. Discutant une nouvelle historique, *Jeanne de France* par Mme de Genlis, il parle ainsi de lui-même : « Je suis organisé de manière que mes systèmes n'influent pas sur mes sensations, et je ne connais point de théorie littéraire qui vaille la peine qu'on interdise pour elle une impression agréable ». S'il avait seulement eu le courage de mettre en pratique un peu plus tôt qu'il ne l'a fait cette belle doctrine romantique de la liberté du critique ! Il arrivera à le faire et du reste plus tôt quand il s'agira du moyen âge que dans d'autres domaines.

L'année suivante, dans un compte rendu de *La Gaule Poétique* de Marchangy (*Débats*, 27 novembre 1817), se trouve un beau passage dans lequel il fait non seulement l'éloge du moyen âge (qui lui a révélé encore une qualité : celle d'être le berceau de la monarchie) mais il admet que pour bien en rendre la physionomie particulière il faut des moyens littéraires nouveaux, c'est-à-dire le romantisme ¹. L'admiration des monuments gothiques à côté de celle de la poésie et de la civilisation du moyen âge paraît pour la première fois dans cet article :

« Comment peindre en effet ces siècles solennels dont la redoutable obscurité enveloppe tout le berceau de la monarchie, ces superstitions étranges et merveilleuses, ces institutions gothiques si fières, si colossales, qui imposent encore par leur majesté quoique dépouillées de toutes les illusions

1. Nous verrons plus tard qu'à cette date Nodier n'est pas en général prêt à accepter le romantisme.

qui les entouraient alors ? Comment exprimer la grandiosité ingénue des mœurs chevaleresques sans recourir à des moyens, à des instruments inconnus ou dédaignés de l'écrivain perfectionné des siècles classiques. Ici je le répète, le goût est obligé de convenir que ce qui paraîtrait partout ailleurs voisin de l'outré, du bizarre et du faux, a le mérite particulier de la vérité locale. Il en est de même de ces monuments anciens que l'amour des arts a dérobé à la fureur des vandales révolutionnaires ; on aime sans doute à y rencontrer dans certaines lignes, dans certains contours, dans l'agencement de certaines parties, quelques chose de cette grâce inspirée qui donne tant de charme aux chefs-d'œuvre des Grecs ; mais on jouirait moins de leur vue, on éprouverait moins profondément cette impression d'admiration religieuse qu'ils inspirent s'il ne se trouvait pas je ne sais quoi d'âpre, d'incorrect, de grossier, qui révèle leur antiquité mystérieuse et le caractère d'une génération naïve et à demi-sauvage qui n'avait point encore dépouillé toute sa rudesse originale ».

Quoique l'architecture gothique devienne pour Nodier une de ses plus grandes préoccupations et que dorénavant ce soit elle qui représente le mieux pour lui le moyen âge et à qui il fait le plus souvent allusion, il n'abandonne pas tout entier son intérêt pour la littérature de cette période. Celle-ci continue à exercer un charme sur son esprit et à travers ses pages critiques, il est facile de rattacher son intérêt pour la littérature du moyen âge au travail de son esprit sur sa propre théorie du fantastique en littérature, théorie qui aboutira à *Trilby*¹. L'enthousiasme de Nodier pour l'architecture gothique trouva une magnifique et digne expression dans la

1. *Débats*, 7 mars 1818, Poésies de S. Edmond Géraud, suivies de six romances par P. M. Lorrando. « Il est assez indifférent de savoir si la romance nous vient des Arabes par les Espagnols ou si, indigène à notre climat, elle a pris naissance d'elle-même sur la terre des troubadours. Ce qu'il y a de certain c'est qu'ils ont laissé en ce genre d'agréables modèles et que longtemps après eux, elle a inspiré des chants aimables et gracieux à nos vieux poètes, à Bertaut, à Desportes, à Baïf, et surtout à Ronsard qui a sou-

grande œuvre ¹ qu'il entreprit avec ses deux amis Taylor et de Cailleux en 1820. L'importance et l'originalité de l'entreprise furent appréciées et signalées par leurs contemporains : *La Quotidienne*, *Les Archives de la littérature et des Arts*, et *Le Défenseur* ² publièrent de longs articles à la louange de l'ouvrage et reconnurent en ses auteurs les grands chefs de la campagne contre la « bande noire » ³. Nodier lui-même exprime fort bien, quoique fort modestement, leur but, dans l'introduction au second volume :

vent dans son langage à demi barbare, l'atticisme d'un écrivain perfectionné. Enfin il n'y a pas un de nos hameaux qui ne possède des romances locales, que la tradition a perpétuées de génération en génération et que les jeunes filles chantent encore dans les veillées d'hiver, fidèles à l'air, au trait et à la cadence qu'elles apprennent de leurs aïeules... C'est ordinairement une bergère qui délivre un prisonnier, ou un soldat qui pleure sur l'infidélité de sa maîtresse ou sur les soucis de sa mère. Dans une région d'idées plus élevées et plus favorables à l'inspiration, c'est l'histoire du lutin ou les apparitions du château, sujets merveilleux qui sollicitaient depuis longtemps une lyre plus savante que celle de nos villageois et que lui offrent toutes les ressources d'une riche et curieuse mythologie ».

Annales de la Littérature et des Arts, 20 janvier 1821. *Le Petit Pierre*, traduit de l'allemand de Speiss : « La France... se tint à une servile imitation... On dirait que nos poètes, découragés par la pauvreté de notre histoire et de nos croyances, n'ont trouvé ni la religion des Druides assez solennelle, ni les annales des Mérovingiens assez tragiques, ni les superstitions de nos ancêtres assez vagues et assez terribles... On trouve tout en lui (Racine) excepté ce que le cœur d'un Français demande à son poète, le chant de la patrie avec les nobles traditions de nos chroniques et les mensonges de nos fables ».

1. *Voyages pittoresques et romantiques dans l'ancienne France*, gr. in-fol., 1^{re} série, *Normandie*, 2 vol. en 39 livraisons, 1820-25. 2^e série, *Franche-Comté*, 1 vol., 1825-1829, etc.

2. *Le Défenseur* (t. II, juillet-sept. 1820, compte rendu par O' Mahony), dit de Nodier « un écrivain fait pour sa mission ; un écrivain dont l'imagination rêveuse et éminemment mélancolique lit couramment ces caractères mystérieux, invisibles au vulgaire, que le temps grave, en passant, sur les ouvrages de l'homme ; qui comprend la voix des siècles gémissant comme le bruit des vents à travers les créneaux abandonnés des vieux manoirs ; enfin qui, remontant le cours des âges et repeuplant les solitudes, enveloppe les hôtes du tombeau pour leur demander des hauts faits de leur vie et parmi tant de ruines désertes, tant d'obscuras forêts qu'elle interroge, ne trouve pas une seule pierre muette, si l'honneur y attache le nom d'un preux, pas un seul arbre silencieux si un troubadour y suspendit sa lyre ».

3. « Bande Noire ». Nom donné, on se souviendra, à ceux qui détruisaient les monuments nationaux et chrétiens du moyen âge. Cf. *L'Ode* de Victor Hugo (*Odes et Ballades*).

« Premiers investigateurs dans les ruines de la patrie, à une époque où ces ruines finissaient de tomber pour ne se relever jamais, nous avons eu le bonheur de rappeler à notre siècle que les siècles qui l'avaient précédé avaient eu leurs arts et leur génie. Nous le disons sans orgueil parce que c'était une pensée si naturelle et probablement si générale qu'elle ne demandait qu'à naître, si l'on peut s'exprimer ainsi ; mais nous le disons avec assurance parce que personne ne peut nous contester le bonheur d'avoir fait le premier ce que tout le monde pensait à faire... (C'est bien là Nodier...) Les monuments auxquels nous imposons avec tant de dédain le nom de gothiques et dont nous rapportons la construction aux siècles de la barbarie, n'étaient ni si sauvages ni si barbares... Ils l'emportent sur les monuments des Grecs en solennité religieuse et en mystérieuses harmonies comme les croyances nobles du Christianisme sur la théologie poétique des païens ».

Son voyage en Ecosse en 1821 affermit encore son admiration pour les ruines gothiques et son observation du culte des vieux monuments chez les Anglais donna une nouvelle source à son indignation contre les démolisseurs français. L'année même de sa visite, il publia une *Promenade de Dieppe aux Montagnes d'Ecosse* (Paris, Barba), dans laquelle il écrivit : « Les architectes anglais ont eu en effet le tact admirable de sentir que ce genre de construction (i. e. le gothique) était comme on dit, éminemment chrétien... On peut se faire une idée de la supériorité relative de l'architecture gothique sur l'architecture classique quant à l'expression poétique et à l'harmonie des effets, en comparant cette vieille cathédrale de Westminster avec le célèbre temple de Saint-Paul... Saint-Paul impose par la grandeur, mais si l'on peut s'exprimer ainsi, par une grandeur physique et matérielle, par une grandeur vide qui n'a réellement ni tristesse, ni obscurité, ni mystères. Il y a dans la moindre chapelle gothique une profondeur, un vague, un infini dont rien ne donne l'idée sur cette aire majestueuse

mais informe qu'inonde une lumière égale et dont l'exactitude parfaitement symétrique ne laisse rien à deviner à l'imagination, rien à deviser à la pensée... Chez nous on démolit des temples et des palais. O charmantes églises de Léry, etc..., chefs-d'œuvre d'imagination et de goût que j'ai vu avec tant de douleur abandonnés aux ravages du temps avant de l'être à ceux de la bande noire, est-ce manque de patriotisme que de regretter qu'un coup de baguette magique ne puisse pas vous transporter en Angleterre ? »

Ce fut un vrai mouvement de propagande qu'il organisa. Il fit réimprimer dans les journaux et les revues des citations tirées des *Voyages* ou de *La Promenade de Dieppe*, et à tout propos il introduisait dans ses articles des allusions aux monuments qu'il aimait, en rattachant à mesure qu'il s'enfonçait dans les idées du romantisme, le culte du moyen âge aux théories de la nouvelle école. Donnons quelques citations :

La Quotidienne, 17 octobre 1823, à propos de Walter Scott : « Un autre mérite de sir Walter Scott c'est d'avoir rendu avec une singulière exactitude la physionomie des localités. C'est un de ceux dont notre orgueilleuse indifférence pour les peintures vraies et les sentiments naturels lui tiendra le moins de compte... » En France on n'a aucun souci pour les monuments historiques, dit-il... « L'heureuse appropriation de la fable romanesque à des sites connus, toujours dépeints avec la plus grande exactitude contribue si puissamment à la vraisemblance que la vérité même ne se présenterait pas plus distinctement à l'esprit ».

La Quotidienne, 4 mars 1824, à propos du *Prisonnier de Gisors* par M^{me} Périé Candaille : « La littérature romantique a été à la fin d'une période d'athéisme et de dissolution sociale, l'interprète de tous les besoins moraux des peuples. C'est elle qui osa réveiller à la face des persécuteurs de la foi le souvenir des saints autels qu'ils avaient profanés... qui ramena sur le sol de la patrie notre curiosité vagabonde et vint nous rappeler que nous avions aussi des monuments... C'est

l'étude enfin de nos ruines et des histoires pathétiques et des superstitions héréditaires qu'elles ne manquent jamais de réveiller dans la mémoire du peuple qui a suggéré à Mme Périé Candeille ce sujet ».

Non seulement Charles Nodier avait été dans le Romanisme un des premiers à découvrir et à révéler le moyen âge, mais il avait été l'inspirateur même du mouvement. Sa participation dans ce mouvement, il l'a exprimée lui-même très clairement dans un article de *La Quotidienne*, 22 octobre 1827, sur le *Combat des Trente Bretons* : « Nous nous sommes avisé tout à coup que nous n'étions pas tombés comme les pierres de Pyrrha sur un sol sans souvenirs, que nous avions des aïeux, des monuments, une religion et chose merveilleuse, il y avait dans tout cela de la grandeur, de l'héroïsme, de la poésie ».

Le troisième point à étudier dans la critique de Nodier, c'était :

3^e Le Genre romantique.

Du seul fait que Nodier arriva à exprimer tout haut son admiration pour la littérature étrangère, laquelle était romantique, il ne faut pas conclure qu'il adopta aussi facilement une position favorable à l'école romantique en France. La chose est facile à expliquer. Dès qu'il commença à examiner des œuvres françaises modernes, une comparaison s'imposait entre ces œuvres et les chefs-d'œuvre du XVII^e siècle, qu'il acceptait avec la tradition, comme classiques, classiques dans le sens de *beaux*. Les poètes français, il le dit, ont eu « le bonheur de former leur goût sur Euripide et sur Racine ». Avec Shakespeare, c'était différent. Personne n'attendait de lui une tragédie classique et Nodier avait, lui, pu admirer ses personnages et ses scènes, mais sans se demander s'ils étaient conformes au critère de beauté classique, son critère alors. Il aimait Shakespeare et en l'aimant il se rendit compte peut-être qu'il admirait un non-classique, mais non pas qu'il

admirait ce qu'autour de lui on appelait un « romantique ». (Voir page 20, citation des *Débats*). Tout le monde parlait du genre romantique, c'est-à-dire de cette nouvelle littérature où étaient introduits des éléments nouveaux de matière et de forme, et qui voulait négliger les règles classiques. Il fallait bien que le classique s'en occupât. Ce que j'entends ici donc par « genre romantique » c'est la littérature nouvelle en France, par opposition à la littérature nouvelle à l'étranger, car pour un groupe de critiques (entr'autres Nodier) le romantisme était tout à fait acceptable dans d'autres littératures, mais non pas dans la littérature française.

Voici les étapes successives de l'attitude de Nodier vis-à-vis du genre romantique ¹ :

I. — *Période de protestation contre l'existence même du genre romantique.*

Il commence par le condamner d'une façon absolue. *Débats*, 4 mars 1814, à propos du cours de Schlegel : « Tout ce qui est essentiellement beau est essentiellement classique, et ces deux mots sont de tous temps synonymes dans la grande critique littéraire. Qu'est-ce donc que le genre romantique, ou si l'on veut qu'est-ce donc qu'un beau qui n'est pas classique et qui ne peut pas l'être ?... Pour me servir de l'expression de M. de Chateaubriand, il n'est pas plus permis de faire grimacer la nature de l'homme dans une tragédie que dans un tableau. Que dirait-on d'un Polydore nourri dans les sables de Barca qui s'aviserait de prêter son nez épaté, ses lèvres grossières et sa chevelure laineuse à l'Apollon ou à la Vénus ? Les mœurs, les passions, les caractères qu'on veut mettre à la place des mœurs, des passions, des caractères classiques

1. A côté de l'énonciation solennelle de ses principes, qui sera toujours la partie la plus arriérée de sa critique, nous trouverons des tendances souvent inconscientes qui le mènent vers l'acceptation du romantisme ; des efforts de justifier ses prédilections. Ces tâtonnements d'une période deviendront souvent les principes de la période suivante, comme l'hérésie d'un siècle fait l'orthodoxie de l'autre.

ne sont pas moins inconvenants, moins difformes. Le prétendu genre romantique n'est point un genre, à moins que la caricature ne soit un genre. Un grotesque n'est jamais qu'un grotesque. L'imagination abandonnée à elle-même fait des Calots, des Rembrandts, mais non pas des Michel-Ange... L'art ne doit pas imiter les monstres. » *Débats*, 16 août 1814, à propos de *Bajazet* : « Cette couleur locale est d'ailleurs une espèce de mot magique sur lequel il serait à propos de s'entendre parce qu'on en a beaucoup abusé. Chaque pays a ses habitudes, ses usages, ses mœurs qu'il n'est pas permis au poète d'ignorer mais qu'il ne peut pas mettre en œuvre d'une manière servile sans manquer aux principes du beau idéal... Les caractères du poète tragique doivent être pris au temps universel ; quant aux lieux, la couleur locale n'y est qu'un accessoire difficile à employer parce qu'il exige la plus stricte économie ; une tragédie où cette couleur locale excéderait de certaines bornes deviendrait la plus méchante des caricatures ; et il serait absurde enfin de présenter dans les mœurs naturelles un personnage emprunté à des pays dans lesquels notre civilisation n'est point parvenue, comme il serait absurde de lui laisser son idiome que personne ne comprendrait. Il faut abandonner cette imitation grossièrement chargée à la tragédie romantique et à la parade. »

(Voir aussi sur le Mélodrame les passages déjà cités des *Débats*, 4 mars et 13 juin 1814, et ce passage du feuilleton dramatique du 13 août 1814 : « *Tancrède* est une tragédie romantique dont le genre est entièrement opposé aux principes de toute littérature classique et spécialement de l'esprit de notre littérature et de notre théâtre »).

C'est par Shakespeare que va se trahir d'abord chez Nodier la fascination graduelle du romantisme sur lui.

Débats, 19 juin 1814, à propos de *Zaïre* : « Ce chef-d'œuvre de Voltaire est à peu près calqué sur le chef-d'œuvre de Shakespeare. *Zaïre* est une imitation élégante d'*Othello*. Voltaire a sur Shakespeare l'avantage essentiel d'être original

et peut-être celui d'être vrai d'une manière qui n'exclut point les beautés idéales. Othello est un Maure, un africain du désert... Orosmâne est un personnage plus universel, mais qui a une physionomie moins franche, un caractère moins décidé. En général, et je crois qu'il faut le dire, ces caractères vagues sont la défectuosité la plus remarquable de notre littérature. Je n'adresse pas de reproche à Racine, mais on a osé le lui adresser et il est possible que ce ne soit pas tout à fait sans raison... Je fais grand cas de l'unité d'action, de temps et de lieu ; mais pourquoi ne parle-t-on jamais de l'unité de caractère de localité, de couleur, qui sont aussi du nombre des qualités les plus essentielles de la composition dramatique ? J'aimerais mieux par exemple que la fable de *Zaïre* durât six ou huit heures de plus et qu'Orosmâne fût Turc ». Comparez ce passage avec les idées au sujet de la couleur locale dans l'article sur *Bajazet*.

Et voici poindre déjà bien nettement la théorie du rôle du fantastique en littérature :

Débats, 19 septembre 1816, dans l'article sur l'*Hindoustan* :
« L'Inde... n'est pas une terre classique, c'est seulement une terre romantique, une terre poétique et merveilleuse et comme elle paraît s'être dérobée par une singulière exception à la contagion du perfectionnement social, elle s'est soustraite par le même bonheur à l'investigation des pédants... Les illusions du premier âge sont charmantes dans les peuples comme dans les enfants, parce que c'est d'elles que se compose à peu près tout le bonheur certain que l'homme est appelé à connaître pendant sa courte existence... Avec quelle ivresse l'imagination se transporte dans ce monde d'illusions où tout semble s'animer d'une vie magique sous la baguette des fées... S'il faut réellement des chimères aux peuples vieilliss, pourquoi ne retournent-ils pas aux amusantes chimères de leur enfance qui sont mille fois moins dangereuses et plus jolies que les autres ? On croirait que la nature a indiqué ce symptôme de décadence

dans l'individu pour l'instruction de l'espèce. » (Voir aussi le passage déjà cité des *Débats*, 16 février 1814.)

Il entrevoit même pour un instant le rôle possible du grotesque dans les arts. Dans l'article sur le ballet *Antoine et Cléopâtre*, nous l'avons déjà vu, esquissant d'avance, pour ainsi dire, sa pensée de demain. Une courte phrase dans un autre article montre que son esprit aime à revenir sur cette question : « Dans la Cène de Léonard de Vinci, Judas vient faire un faux mouvement qui a renversé la salière et personne ne s'avise de trouver cela ridicule. »

D'autre part il adopte une idée dont lui-même d'abord, les romantiques (par exemple Stendhal, *Racine et Shakespeare*, 1825) après, feront grand usage, car elle leur servira à justifier philosophiquement leur réforme de la littérature : C'est l'idée que la littérature est l'expression de la société. Il l'applique d'abord d'une façon défavorable au genre romantique : La civilisation actuelle est mauvaise, donc la littérature qui lui correspond est mauvaise.

Débats, 19 août 1814 : « Il y aurait un rapprochement bien curieux à faire entre les folles théories littéraires et les grandes révolutions politiques qui ont mis la société à deux doigts de sa perte ».

Débats, 29 août 1814 : « *Eugénie* ne sera jamais une bonne pièce puisque cette pièce est prise dans un état de mœurs et dans un système de littérature qui ne peuvent pas longtemps durer en France. »

Débats, 13 juin 1814 : « La comédie a ses âges comme tous les arts et son dernier âge est depuis longtemps arrivé chez nous pour toute la partie instruite de la nation. S'il naissait un Shakespeare en France, ce grand homme aurait sans doute le bon esprit de se faire le poète du peuple et il faudrait malheureusement l'attendre au mélodrame ». (N'est-ce pas que Nodier annonce déjà que la tragédie romantique n'est, en somme, que le mélodrame ? ¹) Mais à la fin, cette doctrine l'amène à

1. Nodier s'intéressait vivement aux mélodrames de son ami Guilbert de

dire : « Puisque cette littérature nouvelle est l'expression de la société, il est inutile de lutter contre elle ; elle doit être la nôtre ». Il n'y a plus qu'un pas de là à dire : Elle est bonne.

Et en ce moment l'attitude de Nodier envers le romantisme ne montre pas seulement qu'il deviendra bientôt le partisan des nouvelles idées au point de vue du fond même de la littérature, mais il se rend compte déjà que cette nouvelle inspiration aura besoin de formes et de moyens d'expression nouveaux :

(*Débats*, 4 février 1814, *La littérature slave*.) « La douceur de la langue harmonieuse, la liberté de son rythme, qui n'admet ni la symétrie fatigante d'une césure obligée, ni le monotone agrément de la rime, lui permettent d'obéir à toutes ses inspirations et d'embellir de ses pensées la vieille ballade que la tradition lui a transmise ».

II. — Période où Nodier accepte comme à contre-cœur le genre romantique.

Deux articles expriment d'une façon particulièrement heureuse cette phase de la pensée de Nodier. On y trouve un curieux mélange de résignation du critique classique devant cette littérature nouvelle, qui est imposée par la société nouvelle, et d'enthousiasme de l'esprit romantique pour les beautés de cette même littérature.

(*Débats*, 27 novembre 1817, *La Gaule Poétique de Mar-changy*) : « S'il n'est pas douteux que les peuples acquièrent de nouveaux besoins politiques dans les révolutions, il est également évident qu'ils doivent y contracter de nouveaux besoins moraux, et que leurs organes plus exercés, accoutumés à des impressions plus énergiques et plus profondes, cherchent désormais des impressions analogues jusque dans les plaisirs de l'esprit. Ainsi l'inutile levée des boucliers contre

Pixerécourt, qu'on appelait le *Corneille des Boulevards* ; les relations entre les deux hommes sont traitées à fond dans le livre de M. Willie G. Hartog : *Guilbert de Pixérécourt* (Paris, Champion 1913).

les romantiques, ou, si l'on veut, des routiniers de la littérature contre des idées libérales, n'empêchera pas le mélodrame de se naturaliser sur notre scène : C'est, puisqu'il faut le dire, un des pas de la perfectibilité, une des conquêtes de la civilisation et une des conquêtes irréparables dont il n'est pas possible de s'appauvrir, parce qu'elles sortent d'elles-mêmes de l'institution sociale et qu'elles deviennent, comme la littérature l'est toujours, l'expression d'un siècle. Il me semble que bien des gens ne se sont déchaînés contre le mélodrame qu'à défaut d'apercevoir ce rapprochement. Il aurait peut-être été plus naturel et mieux entendu de donner une bonne direction à ce genre, en lui appropriant autant que possible quelques unes des idées et des règles classiques et en le faisant servir à un but d'utilité nationale... De quelle importance par exemple ne serait pas la tragédie romantique appliquée par des écrivains d'un certain talent à l'étude de notre histoire ? Il ne faut pas s'imaginer que la tragédie historique traitée à la manière des classiques puisse jamais produire les mêmes résultats. Il y a dans l'histoire une foule de détails naïfs, mais extrêmement caractéristiques qui révolteraient la délicatesse de nos muses scrupuleuses ; et c'est précisément là le coup de pinceau qui appelle l'attention du peuple et dont l'effet se met en harmonie avec ses idées et ses sentiments... Au génie près, les tragédies de Shakespeare ne sont que des mélodrames. Il y a un certain âge des nations où les merveilles de l'esprit et du goût ne sont pour la foule que des beautés de convention consacrées par l'habitude. On demande alors, et telle est la nature de l'esprit de l'homme, des sensations qui ébranlent, qui accablent l'imagination ; la pompe des spectacles, la magie des illusions, le gigantesque, l'extraordinaire, le terrible. Cette tendance de l'esprit des peuples, qui est irrésistible dans toutes les hypothèses, l'est surtout quand ils sont modifiés par de nouveaux systèmes politiques et par une nouvelle position sociale. Ceci n'est pas une théorie ; elle serait du moins fort opposée à mes principes. C'est l'énonciation d'un

fait incontestable et qu'il serait très inutile de contester. En cela, comme en autre chose, il faut laisser aller le siècle qui a secoué des jougs plus imposants que celui d'Aristote ».

(*Débats*, 8 novembre 1818, à propos de l'*Allemagne* de Madame de Staël) : « Il y a incontestablement pour le goût le plus sévère une mine précieuse à exploiter dans les écrivains romantiques, et notre langue est arrivée à ce point de maturité avancée, où il ne lui est plus permis de dédaigner de nouvelles ressources. Qui sait quels effets brillants et inattendus peuvent résulter du rapprochement, du contact heureusement ménagé de deux littératures si riches en contrastes merveilleux, l'une pure, élégante, majestueuse, belle et fière du perfectionnement graduel qu'elle a, dû à la politesse de nos mœurs, à la pompe de nos cours, à la protection de nos rois, au génie surtout des plus grands orateurs, des plus grands poètes des temps modernes ; l'autre, libre, agreste, impétueuse, pleine de mouvements passionnés, d'inspirations hardies, de superstitions imposantes ; grande et formidable comme ces souvenirs du moyen-âge dont elle se nourrit, comme ce génie des temps chevaleresques qui plane encore en Allemagne sur des ruines presque récentes et dont la voix s'est éteinte pour nous à travers les siècles multipliés d'une civilisation ancienne ; c'est ainsi que se forment toutes les littératures secondaires ; et tant que les littératures qui se succèdent seront l'expression des sociétés, comme elles le seront toujours, il faudra bien qu'elles se modifient avec elles... De nouvelles institutions sont incompatibles avec une vieille littérature. Quand un peuple neuf ou renouvelé s'élève, une littérature s'élève avec lui... Qu'eût été le mélodrame en France avant l'invasion des nouvelles doctrines politiques, avant ces grands événements qui ont exalté l'imagination du peuple ? Aujourd'hui le mélodrame est indispensable... Eh bien, le mélodrame c'est la tragédie romantique des Allemands, à l'exécution près ; et si parmi les gens d'esprit qui s'en font un amusement, il s'était trouvé un homme de génie

qui eût le courage de braver l'opposition de la critique, d'ambitionner la première palme dans une nouvelle carrière, d'évoquer cette muse mâle et terrible de Schiller ou de Goëthe, savez-vous où serait le second théâtre français ? Il serait peut-être au boulevard. Le mot peut sembler hardi, mais l'idée est vraie ¹.

« J'ai besoin de m'arrêter ici pour rappeler à mon lecteur que je n'ai pas entrepris de lui donner l'idée de la doctrine littéraire du journal dans lequel j'écris ; que le fait que je viens d'établir en hypothèse n'a même rien de commun avec une doctrine particulière, et que je peux très bien reconnaître un état de choses comme imminent et inévitable, sans donner mon approbation aux principes qui l'ont amené ou aux résultats qu'il doit produire. Il importe fort peu de savoir si le genre romantique sera classique à son tour et si les chefs-d'œuvre de l'école actuelle de l'Allemagne seront encore des chefs-d'œuvre aux yeux de la postérité, et il suffit de voir que le mouvement général des idées vers un système nouveau de civilisation doit occasionner une révolution certaine dans les anciens systèmes littéraires ; et sous ce point de vue, les progrès de l'école romantique ne sont pas un simple objet de curiosité pour le critique ; ils sont un objet de méditation pour

1. Encore un exemple du flair de Nodier. *Lucrèce Borgia* en 1832 n'a-t-elle pas fait de la Porte Saint-Martin le second théâtre français ?

Les autres critiques ne voulaient pas reconnaître l'importance de l'élément mélodramatique dans les nouvelles pièces. M. Marsan dans sa *Bataille Romantique* (1912) page 151, écrivait : « On comprend les inquiétudes du *Globe* et qu'il réproouve certaines singularités voulues. L'Ecole avait lutté surtout contre deux ennemis : le lyrisme et le mélodrame. La tragédie historique, disait-elle, est tout entière dans les chroniques ; elle est vierge encore, parée de toutes les grâces naïves, animée de toutes les passions. C'est de là que Shakespeare l'a tirée ; c'est là qu'un véritable poète saurait la trouver, et il se garderait de la conduire au mélodrame. Or c'est bien au mélodrame qu'un véritable poète la conduit, à un mélodrame revêtu, comme dira Nodier, de la pompe artificielle du lyrisme » et que Nodier avait annoncé, comme nous l'avons vu. Le très intéressant chapitre de M. Marsan sur le *Théâtre romantique* néglige, comme on a l'habitude de le faire, Nodier le critique qui s'intéressera cependant, un des premiers, à cette question du drame.

le publiciste et le philosophe... et cependant Madame de Staël est le seul de nos écrivains qui ait tracé avec les développements convenables, le tableau de la littérature romantique en Allemagne ».

III. — *Période où il distingue entre le genre romantique, maintenant accepté pour la France, et le genre frénétique.*

Ayant accepté le genre romantique comme inévitable, Nodier se met à l'étudier. D'un côté il trouve des beautés surprenantes ; de l'autre des monstruosité. Et voilà où le *xix^e* siècle va se séparer du *xviii^e*, Nodier de Voltaire.

Voltaire reconnaît dans Shakespeare des beautés surprenantes mêlées à des monstruosité et il rejette les unes comme les autres. Les romantiques non seulement recueillent les beautés, mais dans les monstruosité mêmes trouvent du beau et du vrai. Quant à Nodier, lui, il fait le tri des monstruosité ; il en est d'inacceptables et d'indignes ; ces dernières il les rejette dans ce qu'il baptise « le genre frénétique ».

Ce genre frénétique était sans doute une manifestation du romantisme. Dans la critique de Nodier cependant, il est toujours considéré comme un développement à part, un genre *imposteur*, pour ainsi dire.

Son *premier* emploi du mot « frénétique » remonte à 1814. Dans son article sur la littérature slave il écrit : « Il n'y a point ici de ces sentiments frénétiques, de ces passions outrées, turbulentes, convulsives qui se retrouvent à tout moment dans les écrivains de nos jours ». Ces sentiments forment l'élément le plus inquiétant pour le critique dans la nouvelle littérature. Même en 1819, il n'a pas encore eu l'heureuse idée d'en faire un nouveau genre et dans son compte rendu de la traduction du *Vampire* par Faber (*Le Drapeau Blanc*, 4 juillet 1819) il fait une critique assez sévère du romantisme, quoiqu'en vérité ce ne soit que le côté frénétique qu'il condamne :

« L'imagination est si amoureuse du mensonge qu'elle pré-

fère à la peinture d'une émotion agréable, mais naturelle, une illusion qui épouvante. Cette dernière ressource du cœur humain fatigué des sentiments ordinaires, c'est ce qu'on appelle le genre romantique, poésie étrange, mais très bien appropriée à l'état moral de la société, aux besoins des générations blasées qui demandent des sensations à tout prix et qui ne croient pas les payer trop cher du bonheur même des générations à venir. L'idéal des poètes primitifs et des poètes classiques, leurs imitateurs, était placé dans les perfectionnements de notre nature, celui des poètes romantiques est dans nos misères ».

Et c'est en 1821 qu'il invente son fameux « genre frénétique » pour se débarrasser de tout ce qu'il n'ose pas ouvertement admirer dans le romantisme. Dans un article des *Annales de la Littérature et des Arts*, 1821, sur *Petit Pierre* (traduit de l'allemand de Speiss), il écrit : « Il me semble seulement qu'on doit repousser avec sévérité les novateurs un peu sacrilèges qui apportent au milieu de nos plaisirs les folles exagérations d'un monde fantastique, odieux, ridicule ; et qu'il est de l'honneur national de faire tomber sous le poids de la réprobation publique, ces malheureux essais d'une école extravagante, moyennant qu'on s'entende sur les mots ; car ce n'est ni de l'école classique ni de l'école romantique que j'ai l'intention de parler, c'est d'une école innommée que j'appellerai cependant, si l'on veut, l'école frénétique... Il est inutile de répéter que ce prétendu genre romantique n'a rien de commun avec les chefs-d'œuvre de Shakespeare, de Schiller et de M. de Chateaubriand, des grands écrivains modernes dont les beautés sont classiques chez les classiques et les romantiques ».

Voilà la distinction nettement faite. Dorénavant il est libre d'admirer ses auteurs favoris sans qu'on lui reproche les dangers de leur culte. Tout ce qui n'est pas à son goût pourra porter comme étiquette, « frénétique » au lieu de « romantique ». Le mot fit fortune, peut-être plus même que Nodier

n'aurait voulu, car bien que lui s'efforçât de distinguer entre les deux genres on commença justement à se servir de son épithète dérisoire pour parler de toute la littérature romantique. (Voir ma dernière citation.) Il fit allusion à cet abus dans l'introduction au *Château de Saint-Aldobrand* : « Malheureusement on est tombé depuis peu dans une grossière erreur, en rapportant arbitrairement au genre romantique toutes les productions que le genre classique aurait désavouées. Le genre souvent ridicule et quelquefois révoltant qu'on appelle en France romantique, et pour lequel nous croyons n'avoir pas trouvé trop malheureusement l'épithète de frénétique ne sera jamais un genre puisqu'il suffit de sortir de tous les genres pour être classé dans celui-là. »

La première partie de cette dernière phrase fournit l'explication de quelques passages de l'année suivante, qui, pourraient nous paraître comme des reculs dans les théories de Nodier ; mais l'école romantique dont il parlera alors est son « école frénétique » et il n'emploie le terme romantique que parce que c'est ainsi qu'on appellera encore souvent en France le genre frénétique.

Dans la préface de *Trilby*, par exemple, on lit, « Personne n'est plus disposé que moi à convenir que le genre romantique est un fort mauvais genre surtout tant qu'il ne sera pas défini et que tout ce qui est essentiellement détestable appartiendra comme par une nécessité invincible au genre romantique ». Et dans quelques articles de *La Quotidienne* sur Walter Scott : « Faudra-t-il le placer parmi les écrivains d'une école désavouée seulement parce qu'il est Ecossais et qu'il s'occupe avec une préférence marquée des héros de sa nation ?... Il n'y a pas de doute que l'âge d'or des poètes, que l'âge bien plus perfectionné des littératures classiques n'aurait rien compris à la poésie infernale des *Voleurs* de Schiller, du *Bertram* de Mathurin, du *Manfred* de Byron... Une littérature classique pourra se renouveler dans les âges de repos et de gloire... Il reste donc vrai que l'espèce de litté-

rature qu'on appelle romantique est l'expression nécessaire des idées et des besoins d'une époque à laquelle les autres époques n'ont rien à envier... Le succès universel des romans de sir Walter Scott n'a d'ailleurs rien de commun avec cette question. Il y a plus. Je ne saurais que penser d'une révolution politique ou littéraire à la suite de laquelle de pareils ouvrages perdraient de leur intérêt et un pareil auteur sa renommée. Tout écrivain qui sortira triomphant de cette épreuve n'est certainement pas un écrivain romantique dans l'acceptation défavorable du terme. L'écrivain romantique ainsi que je l'entends est celui dont les compositions sont prises hors de la nature vraie et dans une catégorie de faits et de sentiments qui ne peut pas exister que par une exception monstrueuse ».

À côté de cette critique du genre frénétique, l'orientation générale des idées est nettement favorable au mouvement romantique. Dans l'article des *Annales de la littérature et des arts*, il écrit : « Répétons ici le mot tant de fois répété : la littérature est l'expression de la société. Joignons-y cet axiome qui ne paraît pas moins évident : la poésie est l'expression des passions, de la nature, et convenons que le romantisme pourrait bien n'être autre chose que le classique des modernes, c'est-à-dire l'expression de la société nouvelle qui n'est ni celle des Grecs, ni celle des Romains ». Cette déclaration imprime à l'école romantique le sceau de la respectabilité en lui accordant les droits d'un classicisme ; et en même temps elle lui laisse une liberté complète pour son développement.

IV. — *Nodier devient franchement romantique dans ses théories.*

Les caractères principaux du romantisme de Nodier à la fin de cette lente élaboration de sa pensée sont les suivants :

a) Les frénésies sont écartées.

b) Les « règles » ne jouent pas un rôle important même dans sa critique (*Débats*, 11 mars 1822, *Le Théâtre italien*) :

« Manzoni lui seul s'est affranchi de toutes les règles et je déclare d'avance pour l'acquit de ma conscience, que sa pièce qui est détestable suivant Aristote est la meilleure des cinq qui sont toutes plus ou moins dignes d'un examen approfondi ».

c) Il éprouve une admiration très sincère pour la littérature romantique étrangère, mais (et voici un exemple remarquable du flair critique de Nodier) il est également persuadé qu'il y a un grand avenir en France pour le romantisme.

Débats, 3 mai 1822, troisième article sur le *Théâtre italien* : « Quel que soit le jugement que l'on porte de la littérature étrangère on ne peut se dissimuler que les regards de la génération actuelle sont fixés sur les productions innombrables que notre active librairie va puiser chez elle. Il ne faut pour le prouver que le succès si incontestable et si soutenu des théâtres de Shakespeare et de Schiller, des œuvres poétiques de Lord Byron, des romans multipliés de Sir Walter Scott au milieu de la stagnation marquée de notre littérature indigène qui, semblable à un vieil arbre frappé de sécheresse et de stérilité, mais qu'on voit encore se revêtir de la verdure auxiliaire de quelques plantes parasites, ne semble plus briller en ce moment que des emprunts qu'elle a faits à nos voisins. Loin de nous la pensée que cette époque d'inertie indique une décadence sans remède, une caducité sans espérance, et une mort prochaine. Nous y verrions, au contraire, les symptômes d'une création nouvelle, d'une véritable palingénésie qui doit résulter nécessairement tôt ou tard des grandes mutations que l'état social a éprouvées depuis un demi-siècle ».

d) La littérature devrait puiser dans les sources de poésie du moyen âge le merveilleux religieux et fanatique qui est essentiel à la vraie poésie : *La Quotidienne*, 3 juin 1823, *Yseult de Dôle* : « Il y a quelques années que je disais en parlant du genre romantique « genre fort ridicule aujourd'hui qui embrassera dans vingt ans toute la littérature de l'Europe... » Toute la nouvelle génération marche dans cette voie

autrefois si sévèrement interdite à l'imagination... On ira pleurer aux tragédies romantiques, on s'attendrira aux touchantes élégies, on frémissa d'admiration aux odes sublimes de cette brillante pléiade de jeunes poètes de notre génération et l'espérance des générations qui s'approchent. S'il est vrai, comme je pense, que les croyances religieuses des peuples et mêmes leurs superstitions soient une partie essentielle de leur poésie, il reste une immense carrière à parcourir à l'écrivain qui osera entreprendre pour l'ancienne France ce que Walter Scott a exécuté pour l'Ecosse ».

e) En 1823 commence une nouvelle phase dans l'histoire de Nodier, critique romantique. Dès cette année il se lie avec les jeunes écrivains de la nouvelle école. Il travaillera dorénavant la main dans la main avec eux et spécialement avec Victor Hugo, lequel, comme Nodier, a été romantique en action avant de l'être dans sa critique c'est-à-dire avant sa *Préface de Cromwell*. Il était naturel que Nodier intéressât sa plume de critique aux productions de ses nouveaux amis, et en effet, à côté de ses articles sur divers sujets dans lesquels il faisait très volontiers des réflexions sur le romantisme en général, nous en trouvons une série d'autres sur Hugo, sur Lamartine, qui trahissent sa réelle sympathie pour le romantisme français. Sa critique, en somme, pendant cette période, c'est un reflet du mouvement romantique en France :

La Quotidienne, 12 mars, 1823 critique d'*Han d'Islande*.

Débats, 21 novembre 1823, *Œuvres* de M. Cooper ; paragraphe à la louange d'*Han d'Islande*.

La Quotidienne, 4 octobre 1823, critique des *Nouvelles Méditations* de Lamartine, article qui servira de Préface à la onzième édition des *Méditations*, 1824, et qui parut aussi dans le *Propagateur*, 1824.

La Quotidienne, 24 janvier 1824, *Mélanges poétiques* d'Ulric Guttinguer ; 8 mars 1824, *Nouvelles Odes* de Victor Hugo ; 7 juillet 1825, *Le dernier chant du Pèlerinage d'Harold* par Lamartine ; 23 octobre 1826, *Les Poésies* de Madame Tastu ;

10 février 1827, *Odes et Ballades* de M. Victor Hugo.

La critique d'*Han d'Islande* était assez flatteuse pour que le jeune auteur courût le lendemain chez Nodier pour le remercier. Quand même Nodier avait naturellement rattaché le roman au genre frénétique et déploré ses excès, il ne manqua pas de signaler les qualités, ainsi que la promesse que donnait l'œuvre d'un talent extraordinaire. Dès qu'il s'agissait des poésies de Hugo et de Lamartine, Nodier se montrait le critique le plus sympathique. Lamartine est placé entre Shakespeare et Byron dans un article de *La Quotidienne* (24 janvier 1824). Nodier invoque l'autorité de ces noms contre les mauvais écrivains qui se disent romantiques « dans l'impossibilité d'être quelque chose et se cachent avec orgueil entre Shakespeare, Lamartine et Byron, disgrâce heureuse et mille fois plus heureuse pour eux que tous les succès que leur impuissante médiocrité aurait pu tenter sous la bannière d'Aristote ».

Dans un article de *La Quotidienne* du 4 mars 1824, il saisit l'occasion, à propos d'un roman de Madame Périé Candeille, de prendre encore une fois la défense de l'école romantique : « Si Homère avait vécu à une époque avancée de civilisation quand il chanta sa divine *Odyssée*, on lui aurait reproché sans doute les traditions romantiques des superstitions de la Grèce païenne, canevas délicieux sur lequel il a brodé ces belles histoires qui charmeront les derniers âges. Que dirait-on chez nous du poète effronté qui traînerait Ulysse au repas sanglant de ce vampire de l'enfer ou dans la grotte de cet ogre de la terre des Cyclopes ou dans les jardins de cette sorcière de l'île d'Aëa qui sont devenus classiques sous le nom d'Achille, de Polyphème, de Circé ? Le loup-garou serait peut-être classique, Dieu me pardonne, s'il avait hurlé du temps des chiens de Scylla... La littérature romantique a été, à la fin d'une période d'athéisme et de dissolution sociale, l'interprète de tous les besoins moraux des peuples. C'est elle qui a osé réveiller à la face des persécuteurs de la foi, le souvenir des

saints autels qu'ils avaient profanés... qui ramena sur le sol de la patrie notre curiosité vagabonde et vient nous rappeler que nous avions aussi des monuments ».

Un article anonyme du 22 avril — qui est cependant bien de Nodier ¹ — continue la discussion : « Il n'est pas facile de démêler l'origine du mot romantique. Tout le monde l'emploie et personne peut-être ne l'a inventé ; seulement on peut croire que le public préoccupé de cette idée que la littérature est l'expression de la société n'a pas trouvé une autre manière de désigner un genre nouveau de littérature qui dût être l'expression d'une société dont les événements tiennent plutôt du roman que de l'histoire... Quand l'homme, ses passions et ses affections, entrent dans leurs compositions, les écrivains excellent à peindre l'extraordinaire, le gigantesque, ce qu'on n'a jamais vu ni entendu, comme dans les ouvrages de Byron et de quelques autres ; et sans doute dans l'état de frénésie et de délire où ils ont vu la société et les monstres qu'ils ont produits dans des temps peu éloignés du nôtre, ont disposé les esprits à créer les fictions les plus sauvages et à inventer des caractères et des actions qui passent la portée ordinaire de l'humanité ».

Le 22 décembre 1825, Nodier dit son dernier mot à ce sujet : « Il y a des ogres et des vampires dans l'*Odyssée*... des goules

1. Tout tend, en effet, à identifier l'auteur avec Nodier. D'abord il est facile d'expliquer son motif pour garder l'anonyme si on se rapporte à une note qu'il avait ajoutée à son article du 4 mars : « Il est peut-être inutile de répéter qu'il ne s'agit pas ici de l'opinion de mes collaborateurs, mais de la mienne. Au reste comme elle pouvait jeter quelque confusion dans nos doctrines littéraires, je déclare que j'y reviens pour la dernière fois ». Puis, notre article du 22 avril n'est en grande partie qu'un résumé des idées que Nodier avait développées au long dans les articles précédents du même journal et de la même année ; c'était toujours Nodier qui défendait le romantisme dans la *Quotidienne*. Enfin, dans une note ajoutée à l'article par les éditeurs on lit : « Nous regretterions que l'auteur eût gardé l'anonyme, si nous ne pensions pas que son style sera facilement reconnu ».

Pour une étude détaillée sur ce point intéressant, la position indécise de *La Quotidienne* vis-à-vis du romantisme, je renvoie le lecteur à la monographie, sur ce journal, qu'annonce Miss Helen Maxwell King, Fellow de Bryn Mawr College.

et des lycanthropes dans *Apulée*... Pourquoi les sorcières d'Ovide sont-elles classiques si les magiciennes de Shakespeare ne le sont pas ?... Classiques ou romantiques, les poètes de toutes les écoles se réduisent à deux ordres bien plus faciles à distinguer que ces catégories abstraites sur lesquelles personne n'est d'accord. Le premier se compose des hommes d'un grand talent qui savent tout embellir, et le second des maladroits qui savent tout gâter : il n'y a pas d'autre classification en littérature ».

Quand il n'est pas question de propagande critique, Nodier est agressivement romantique :

Muse Française, 1824 : « Les romantiques sont des idolâtres qui donneraient mille fois les gentilleses de Pétrone pour une ligne d'Atala, qui ne céderaient pas V. Hugo à Thèbes en échange de son chantre de boxeurs et de chevaux ; qui aiment mieux un sentiment qui parle au cœur, fût-il français et chrétien qu'une grossièreté qui dégoûte les sens, fût-elle classique et romaine ; et qui s'avisent de croire que la littérature entraînée dans sa marche universelle a fait un pas avec le temps ».

Sa satire *Adieux aux romantiques*, dans la même revue et réimprimée, dans ses *Poésies diverses* de 1827, est d'un entrain délicieux :

« Je vous le dis, d'un cœur contrit
Adieu, Messieurs les romantiques ;
Vous avez du bon dans l'esprit,
J'en conviens : mais il est écrit :
« Ne hante pas les hérétiques ».
Un journal a très bien prouvé
Que le talent est réprouvé.
Ne criez pas au paradoxe !
Le rédacteur est orthodoxe,
Et nous le tenons pour sauvé.
J'aurais dû, la chose est exacte,
En voyant vos succès divers,
Juger, qu'avec l'esprit pervers
Vous aviez formé quelque pacte
Pour apprendre l'art des beaux vers.

Pourquoi, poètes infidèles,
Pourquoi ces coupables accents
Qui séduisent l'âme et les sens ?
Vous aviez de si bons modèles
Pour faire des vers innocents !
Etc.

Il faut noter comme dernier trait de ses théories sur le romantisme, le développement continu de sa théorie du fantastique et l'importance graduellement grandissante qu'il lui accorde dans sa critique. Il est préoccupé de « ce monde des esprits où il n'appartient qu'au poète de pénétrer » (*Quotidienne*, 23 août 1826). Il admire les fantaisies de Victor Hugo et les rattache aux « êtres intermédiaires » de Shakespeare. Enfin le moyen âge, qu'il offre comme l'inspiration la plus pure aux jeunes poètes, l'attire par son côté merveilleux, superstitieux, fantastique.

B. *Œuvre originale*

Les romans de Nodier dans sa première période avaient été, on s'en souvient, du type *Werther*¹, déjà romantiques dans leur mélancolie à l'allemande, même plus romantiques encore dans leur tendance vers le fantastique. Comme on pouvait s'y attendre, Nodier, le romancier, était plus franchement romantique que Nodier, le professeur de Dôle.

Il en sera de même dans sa période de maturité. Et nous allons surprendre Nodier le critique qui avait condamné avec tant de sévérité le genre frénétique, en flagrant délit de contradiction avec Nodier le romancier lequel, durant ces mêmes années, le pratiquait avec la plus grande assiduité.

Jean Sbogar, publié en 1818, fut l'aboutissement des nou-

1. Il y reviendra dans *Thérèse Aubert* (1817) et *Adèle* (1820). Ce dernier est son essai le plus heureux dans ce genre-là — une histoire vraiment sentie d'amours contrariées. *Thérèse Aubert*, également un roman sentimental, se rattache, quand même, au courant frénétique par certains traits, tels que la maladie répugnante de l'héroïne.

velles préoccupations que Nodier avait rapportées d'Illyrie ¹. (Cf. ci-dessus.) Le roman mérite une étude un peu détaillée pour préciser l'état du romantisme de Nodier au moment de sa composition. Il y a, en effet, une différence tout à fait frappante entre l'esprit de cet ouvrage et de ceux qui le précèdent. Dans *Jean Sbogar*, quoique ce soit un récit d'amours malheureux, le note prédominante est celle du mystérieux, de l'horrible, du sinistre. Et néanmoins *Jean Sbogar* est loin d'être encore un conte de fée, comme Nodier allait en faire plus tard. C'est une véritable œuvre de transition ; elle marque la fin du roman sentimental et le début (quoique encore hésitant) du roman frénétique. Rappelons en deux mots l'histoire. Jean Sbogar est un chef de brigands qui jouit d'une renommée presque surnaturelle dans l'imagination populaire. Antonia, une jeune fille riche et distinguée, est obsédée par les récits qu'on fait à son propos. Elle finit par ne plus s'en inquiéter, cependant, après avoir fait la connaissance de Lothario, un grand seigneur de Venise dont elle devient la fiancée et qu'elle aime sincèrement. Un beau jour Lothario disparaît en laissant une lettre qui annonce qu'il cherche la mort. La sœur d'Antonia pour la divertir dans sa douleur propose un voyage. En traversant les montagnes la voiture des deux femmes est attaquée par des brigands qui amènent Antonia au château de Jean Sbogar. Celui-ci, le visage toujours voilé, lui offre la plus parfaite hospitalité et semble l'adorer, tout en la gardant prisonnière. Antonia a un accès de folie. Enfin elle est sauvée par des amis et entre dans un couvent où elle guérit. Un jour elle voit passer Jean Sbogar mené au supplice par les officiers de la justice. Elle reconnaît en lui Lothario, et tombe morte.

Nodier a su prêter à ce récit un caractère accusé de surnaturel par le maniement habile de certains éléments mystérieux qu'il introduit dans :

1. « Ebauché en 1812, aux lieux qui l'ont inspiré », en dit-il, dans les *Préliminaires* à l'édition de 1832 (page 79).

- a) Le personnage du héros.
- b) Le cadre naturel.
- c) Quelques scènes spéciales.

a) Les bruits qui courent à propos de Jean Sbogar font penser à la légende de la *Fiancée de la Mort*, selon laquelle un brigand choisit sa fiancée et la fait surveiller par ses gens de sorte qu'au moment de sa mort, ils puissent l'amener à son château pour la faire enterrer. Et l'âme pure de la jeune fille servira à racheter les crimes du brigand, et les deux entreront ensemble au Paradis¹. Tout au travers du récit de *Jean Sbogar*, la jeune héroïne entend ce chant lugubre qui la frappe de terreur : « Malheur à toi. Malheur à toi, si jamais tu croisais (il l'avait déjà comparée à une jeune plante) dans les forêts qui sont soumises à la domination de Jean Sbogar ». La personne du héros est revêtue d'un caractère mystérieux. Sa physionomie le « faisait tenir, selon l'expression de Schiller, de l'ange, du démon et du dieu ».

b) Le cadre du récit ajoute à cet effet de terreur l'idée des forces sinistres dans la nature. On ne peut guère imaginer une description plus classique dans son romantisme que celle du château de Dunio, propriété de Jean Sbogar. Il est situé « dans une partie de la montagne qui est infiniment plus obscure que les autres, qui les domine de beaucoup et dont l'aspect gigantesque et ténébreux inspire la terreur ». Pendant les guerres civiles, le Dante y chercha asile et « on prétend que ce séjour sinistre lui inspira le plan de son poème et que c'est là qu'il entreprit de peindre l'enfer. Dans ce siècle où tout se décolore, je crains qu'il ne soit tombé en partage à quelque châtelain paisible qui aura dépeuplé de démons ses tours formidables pour y faire nicher des colombes »².

1. Cette histoire a été racontée dernièrement par Charles Foley dans le *Nouveau Décameron*.

1. Cette dernière phrase indique la façon dont Nodier a introduit le fantastique dans cette œuvre, en y faisant allusion de temps en temps. Ce n'est

c) Il y a des passages et des scènes où l'intention de faire frissonner le lecteur est aussi peu voilée que possible ; ainsi la description d'un vautour donne à la sœur d'Antonia l'occasion de philosopher sur la beauté et la laideur — Victor Hugo dira un jour « le sublime et le grotesque » — voisinant partout dans le monde :

« Il est vrai que le mal absolu répugne à la juste idée que nous nous faisons de l'extrême bonté du créateur et de la perfection de ses ouvrages ; mais il l'a cru certainement nécessaire à leur harmonie puisqu'il l'a placé dans tout ce qui est sorti de ses mains à côté du bon et du beau... Tu te souviens de cette espèce de vautour blanc comme la neige, qu'un des correspondants de mon père avait apporté de Malte ? Sa forme n'a rien de désagréable ; il n'y a rien de plus pur et de plus élégant que son plumage ; quand on le voit par le dos sur une des pierres éparses des cimetières où il fait sa demeure, on désire de s'en approcher et de l'examiner en détail ; s'il se retourne en sautillant sur ses jambes grêles et qu'il arrête sur vous son œil plein d'un feu sanglant entouré d'une large pellicule cadavéreuse comme d'un masque de spectre, vous tressaillez d'horreur et de dégoût ».

que plus tard qu'il se livrera tout franchement au fantastique. Ici il ne croit pas à ces êtres surnaturels, ni son héroïne non plus, mais elle s'y intéresse et médite sur eux dans un passage d'un charme si rare que je le cite tout entier ; on verra comment déjà alors le côté riant du fantastique a trouvé un poète chez le bon Nodier :

« Antonia jouissait mieux que personne de ces effets mystérieux qui doublent l'aspect de la vie et qui donnent un monde nouveau à l'intelligence. Elle ne croyait pas à l'existence de ces êtres intermédiaires qui jouent un si grand rôle dans les superstitions de son pays natal et de son pays adoptif ; de ces géants ténébreux qui règnent sur les hautes montanges où on les voit quelquefois assis dans une nue, les bras armés d'un pin énorme ; de ces sylphes plus légers que l'air qui ont leur palais dans le calice d'une petite fleur, et que le zéphyr emporte en passant ; de ces esprits nocturnes qui gardent les trésors cachés sous un roc retourné sur sa pointe, ou qui errent à l'entour pour éloigner les voleurs, en laissant sur leur passage une flamme inconstante qui monte, descend, s'éteint pour renaître, disparaître et renaître encore : mais elle aimait ces illusions, et le chant morlaque qu'elle avait souvent écouté avec plaisir, les renouvelait toutes à la fois » (p. 122-3).

Plus frappantes encore sont les scènes de folie d'Antonia, et celles-ci sont véritablement parties du drame lui-même. La vision des noces de Jean Sbogar ¹ est tout ce qu'il y a de plus macabre ; tout ce qu'il y a de plus horrible, sa vision de Lothario, transformé en être répugnant ². Nous sommes ici en plein « genre frénétique » ³, étape par laquelle passe Nodier avant d'arriver à celle du fantastique gracieux où il excella. Sous l'influence de Byron, Nodier pratique ce genre (frénétique) tout en le condamnant dans son ouvrage critique.

Voici par ordre chronologique les premières œuvres du genre en France :

1819. *Le Vampire*, nouvelle traduite de l'anglais de Lord Byron par H. Faber (considéré à cette époque comme œuvre authentique de Byron). Paris, in-8, 1819.

1820. *Lord Ruthwen* ou *Les Vampires*, roman de C. B. publié par l'auteur de *Jean Sbogar* et de *Thérèse Aubert*. Paris, Ladvocat, 2 vol. in-12, 1^{re} édition, février 1820; 2^e édition, juillet 1820, augmentée de notes sur le vampirisme.

Le Vampire, mélodrame en trois actes avec un prologue par MM. *** ⁴ représenté au théâtre de la Porte Saint-Martin le 13 juin 1820. Paris, Barba, in-8.

1. « Vois-tu d'ici les conviés ?... En voilà qui ont les membres à demi calcinés par le feu ; des vieillards, des enfants dont les lambeaux se réveillent vivants des incendies que tu as allumés, pour prendre part à tes plaisirs... En voilà d'autres qui se lèvent de leur linceuil, et qui se glissent à la table du festin en cachant des plaies sanglantes » (p. 210).

2. « Tout ici était plein de fantômes. On y voyait des aspics d'un vert éclatant qui se cachent dans le tronc des saules ; d'autres reptiles bien plus hideux, qui ont un visage humain ; des géants démesurés et sans formes ; des têtes nouvellement tombées, dont les yeux pleins de vide me pénétraient d'un affreux regard... j'aperçus Lothario... il est vrai que ce n'était pas lui te que je l'ai connu. Défait, livide, effaré, il tournait des yeux sanglants ; sa barbe était épaisse et hideuse ; un rire désespéré comme celui des démons errait sur ses lèvres. Oh ! tu ne concevrais jamais ce qu'est devenu Lothario » p. 211-12.

3. Mot inventé par Nodier l'année suivante. Voir page 40.

4. Carmouche, Charles Nodier et Achille Joffroy.

1821. *Bertrand* ou *Le château de Saint-Aldobrand* : Tragédie en cinq actes, traduite librement de l'anglais du Rév. R. C. Mathurin par MM. Taylor et Ch. Nodier, Paris, Cide, Ladvocat.

Smarra ou *Les Démons de la nuit*, songes romantiques, traduits de l'esclavon du comte Maxime Odin, par Ch. Nodier. Paris, Ponthieu, in-16.

On trouvera une discussion très intéressante de ces ouvrages dans le livre de M. Estève : *Byron et le Romantisme français* (pp. 76 et 102), mais même après ce travail, il reste à résoudre la question de l'auteur du roman de 1820. Il a été attribué à Nodier. En effet, sur la couverture sinon dans le faux-titre il portait ce nom d'auteur. Mais comme l'indique Estève, Nodier avait « protesté dès la première heure ». Le 27 février 1820, les *Débats* qui publièrent un compte-rendu du roman déclarèrent : « Cet article était imprimé lorsqu'une lettre, de Ch. Nodier nous a confirmé dans l'opinion que le roman de *Lord Ruthwen* n'est pas de Ch. Nodier ». Cette lettre doit être celle que le *Drapeau Blanc* avait publiée la veille : « Monsieur, il y a quelques mois qu'un de mes amis m'ayant prié de lui servir d'intermédiaire auprès d'un libraire pour la vente d'un roman intitulé : *Lord Ruthwen* ou *Les Vampires*, je présentai l'auteur et le manuscrit à M. Ladvocat... J'apprends seulement à l'instant que Ladvocat a pris l'incroyable licence de porter mon nom jusque sur le titre de ce livre non comme éditeur, mais comme auteur, supercherie injurieuse à l'auteur même... d'autant plus inconcevable enfin que M. Ladvocat a la conviction très intime que je n'ai contribué à ce roman que les quatre pages de préface que j'ai accordées à ses instances et quelques corrections topographiques ce que j'atteste sur l'honneur. (Signé) Charles Nodier ». Cette lettre me semble être de bonne foi. Ce n'est pas du tout la lettre d'un homme qui voulait continuer une super-

cherie littéraire¹, et servira à éliminer Nodier des auteurs possibles du roman.

En 1830, Pichot, dans sa préface à la septième édition de Byron (t. VI, p. 278), désigna Cyprien Bérard comme l'auteur. Etant donné les initiales C. B. sur le faux-titre et les relations cordiales qui existaient entre Bérard et Nodier, l'attribution semble assez probable.

La pièce de Nodier *Le Vampire* est pleine d'horreur ; son vampirisme ne le cède en rien à ses modèles anglais les plus frénétiques. C'est l'ancienne légende du fiancé-vampire avec tous ses éléments traditionnels d'horreur, scènes de cimetières, enfants tués dans leur berceau, etc... Le drame est un simple exercice dans le nouveau genre qui, pour le moment, avait fasciné Nodier. L'esprit toujours actif de celui-ci, cependant, ne tarda pas à se tourner dans une autre direction. Il avait écrit un compte rendu du *Vampire* de Faber (*Débats*, 1^{er} juillet 1819) :

« La fable des vampires est peut-être la plus universelle de nos superstitions... Une chose étrange c'est que les hommes les plus simples, les moins intéressés à tromper, c'est que des

1. Voici au contraire une lettre d'après laquelle l'intention de Nodier était de faire une supercherie : *Journal de Commerce*, 17 juillet 1818, Monsieur : « J'apprends par un numéro de votre journal qui vient de tomber dans mes mains qu'on m'a attribué un roman intitulé *Jean Sbogar*. Les personnes qui me connaissent savent que je ne fais pas de romans et comme je n'en lis pas plus que je n'en fais, je n'ai pas lu *Jean Sbogar*. Le jugement que vous exprimez sur ce livre pouvant cependant donner une idée fort étrange de mon caractère qui, grâce au ciel, n'avait pas encore été compromis et qui est peut-être tout ce qui me reste, j'espère que vous voudrez bien accorder à mon désaveu une mention de quelques lignes... CHARLES NODIER ».

La bibliographie de M. Vicaire attribue le roman à Cyprien Bérard et donne la note suivante : « Au Catalogue de vente de M. Emmanuel Mennessier-Nodier, petit-fils de Charles Nodier, Paris, Emile Paul et Guillemin, 1896, in-8°, n° 219, figure un exemplaire de *Lord Ruthwen* auquel était jointe une lettre autographe de l'auteur de *Jean Sbogar*. Cet ouvrage est ainsi annoncé : « Exemplaire accompagné d'une lettre autographe de Charles Nodier à l'éditeur Ladvocat pour lui reprocher d'annoncer *Lord Ruthwen* comme un de ses romans. Il confirme qu'il n'a fait que le publier, et en termes assez violents, menace Ladvocat de poursuites s'il annonce cet ouvrage sous son nom ».

hommes naturels, des sauvages qui n'auraient aucun avantage à tirer d'une maladie supposée, confessent le vampirisme et s'accusent avec horreur de ce crime involontaire de leur sommeil. Souvent un malheureux paysan dalmate affaibli par une longue et morne mélancolie, hâve, décharné, mourant, se résout enfin à mettre un terme à son affreuse infirmité... La maladie terrible que je viens de peindre s'appelle en esclavon *smarra*. Il est probable que c'est la même que nous appelons en français *cauchemar*. Si l'homme atteint du *cauchemar* est *somnambule*, s'il est libre de sortir à toute heure de sa hutte, comme le *Morlaque* de *Narente* et de *Mascara*, si le hasard ou quelque instinct épouvantable le conduit au milieu de la nuit dans les cimetières et qu'il y soit rencontré par un passant, par un voyageur, par la veuve et l'orphelin qui viennent pleurer un époux, ou un père, l'histoire du vampirisme tout entière est expliquée ».

Amené par le vampirisme au *cauchemar*, Nodier en fit une étude qui reste une de ses œuvres les plus caractéristiques : *Smarra*. Il y apporta un souci de style et de vocabulaire qui montre ses goûts de philologue. Il transporte ses lecteurs par le moyen classique d'un rêve dans la sphère des êtres surnaturels. Ceux-ci sont de deux sortes : les êtres bienveillants de sa production postérieure, et les êtres méchants qui, comme malgré lui, le forcèrent de s'occuper d'eux. Il est à noter que *Smarra*, le vampire de l'histoire, n'est plus un homme. Tout est devenu fantastique. C'est l'adaptation Nodier du genre frénétique. Voici la description de *Smarra* : « Nain difforme et joyeux dont les mains sont armées d'ongles d'un métal plus fin que l'acier, qui pénètrent la chair sans la déchirer et boivent le sang à la manière de la pompe insidieuse des sangsues... » Les mille démons de la nuit l'escortent, « des femmes rabougries au regard ivre, des serpents rouges et violets dont la bouche jette du feu, des lézards qui élèvent au-dessus d'un lac de boue et de sang un visage pareil à celui de l'homme ; des têtes nouvellement déta-

chées du tronc par la hache du soldat, mais qui me regardent avec des yeux vivants et s'enfuient en sautillant sur des pieds de reptiles ». C'est une description frénétique d'images assez originales, du reste. Nodier se montre aussi bien documenté pour d'autres êtres surnaturels que pour le vampire. Il nous les décrit : les Aspioles, les Achrones, les Psylles, les Morphoses, les Goules. Voilà pour le côté horrible, mais il fait rentrer dans son récit, sous l'influence sans doute de Shakespeare qui lui fournit une épigraphe à la tête de chaque division de l'histoire, « la danse des sylphides et la musique des fées ».

Si *Jean Sbogar* formait comme le début de l'étape de ce genre frénétique, *Smarra* en fut la dernière manifestation. Nodier ne devait plus s'occuper d'un genre dont il avait vraiment honte. Dès lors, au contraire il avança d'un pas sûr dans un genre plus poétique, sinon moins fantastique. L'année suivante il donna *Trilby*, vrai chef-d'œuvre de sa manière achevée, récit charmant, d'un sentiment poétique exquis. Nodier avait éprouvé le charme des gracieux lutins d'Ecosse. Dans une lettre publiée dans le *Bulletin du Bibliophile* (1849), il dit : « Le pittoresque et le romantique sont d'ailleurs fort éloignés du positif. Je n'ai pas promis des faits moraux mais des impressions. Je parle de bonne foi des fantômes et des fées, comme des moines et des saints ¹ ». Et ces « êtres intermédiaires », il se proposa de les introduire dans la littérature, de les faire accepter par les hommes parce qu'ils sont tout ce qui, reste dans une civilisation usée, d'un passé plus poétique, plus imaginatif, plus capable de fournir le bonheur.

Le seul volume de poésies que donna Nodier, sauf ses *Essais d'un jeune Barde*, est le recueil intitulé *Poésies diverses* (1827).

1. Il s'approche ici de l'idée si gracieusement exprimée par Charles Lamb (auquel il ressemble assez du reste) dans les *Essays of Elia* : « There is no one to judge of the lawless or canon by which a dream may be criticised ».

Parmi ces vers il se trouve plusieurs romances pour lesquelles il puise son inspiration encore une fois dans le moyen âge : « Je regarde la romance, écrivait-il dans la préface, comme la plus précieuse tradition de notre vieille poésie ».

CHAPITRE II

LES RAPPORTS DE L'ŒUVRE DE NODIER AVEC L'ŒUVRE DE VICTOR HUGO DANS LE GENRE FANTASTIQUE ET LE GENRE FRÉNÉTIQUE.

I. — *Les relations personnelles entre Hugo et Nodier.*

C'a été un lieu commun de la critique de dire que Victor Hugo avait trouvé chez Nodier une source d'inspiration pour quelques-unes de ses premières œuvres, spécialement pour ses ballades et son roman d'*Han d'Islande*. « C'est peut-être par le côté fantastique de son talent, écrivait M. Léon Séché dans son *Cénacle de la Muse française* ¹ (p. 236) qu'il (Nodier) a le plus agi sur le premier romantisme. Victor Hugo qui lui a dédié plusieurs ballades n'en aurait peut-être pas fait sans lui ». Et M. Estève (*Byron et le Romantisme français* (II, p. 133) notait qu'en 1823 Hugo « se liait plus étroitement avec Nodier qui lui apprenait à pratiquer le genre fantastique et même un peu le genre frénétique », tandis que M. Yovanovitch constatait : « *Han d'Islande* est de 1823, *Smarra* de 1821. Ce n'est donc pas sans raison qu'un ennemi de cette littérature macabre accuse Nodier d'avoir inauguré la série ». (*La Guzla de Mérimée* ²).

Tâchons de préciser un peu cette influence, et tout d'abord rappelons les conditions qui l'ont favorisées.

1. *Mercur de France*, 1908.

2. Déjà cité.

Il est un certain nombre de faits assez communs pour que nous n'ayons qu'à les rappeler ici brièvement :

En mars 1823, Nodier, ayant fait un article sur *Han d'Islande* entra en relations avec le jeune auteur ¹.

L'été suivant, la *Muse Française* fut fondée ; Hugo et Nodier en étaient tous les deux collaborateurs ².

A cette même époque les romantiques commençaient à se réunir chez Nodier, rue de Provence ; et le 14 avril 1824, Nodier s'installa à l'Arsenal. « Ce soir-là, écrivait Biré, tous les amis de la *Muse Française* inaugurèrent les soirées de l'Arsenal » ³.

Une lettre de Victor Hugo à Nodier que M. Paul Bonnefon vient de publier dans la *Revue Bleue* (avril 1913, p. 514, *Victor Hugo : Lettres et billets inédits*), trahit l'enthousiasme qu'éprouva Victor Hugo pour Nodier dans les premières années de leur amitié :

« Ce lundi 8 mars, 1824.

« Mon cher ami, permettez-moi de vous donner ce nom qui, reçu de vous, serait un titre pour moi ; je comptais aller vous porter mes nouveaux péchés poétiques. Ladvocat m'apprend qu'il m'a devancé, ce qui me chagrine un peu, car je voulais me vanter sur l'exemplaire que je vous aurais offert de mon admiration pour vous... Ladvocat me promet encore de votre part un article signé Ch. NODIER dans *La Quotidienne*. Est-ce que l'aigle consentira à juger le vol du moineau franc ?... Au moment où j'écris ceci on m'apporte *La Quotidienne* ; les termes me manquent pour vous exprimer ma reconnaissance et l'espérance que vous me donnez à la fin de votre trop bienveillante annonce ⁴ achève de me combler. »

1. Voir chap. I.

M^{me} Menessier Nodier, p. 255.

2. Voir édition de la *Muse Française* par Jules Marsan publiée par la Société des Textes modernes.

3. Dumas, *Mémoires*, t. V, pp. 116-130 ; Salomon, *Ch. Nodier*, chap. II ; Séché, *Le Cénacle*, chap. VI ; d'Amaury Duval, *Souvenirs*.

4. Il s'agit de l'article de Nodier sur les *Nouvelles Odes* qui parut dans la *Quotidienne* du 8 mars. (Voir la liste à la fin de ce travail.)

En mai 1825, Hugo et Nodier firent ensemble le voyage de Reims pour assister au sacre de Charles X ¹.

A Reims « ils avaient formé, dit Biré, le projet d'un voyage en Suisse ». Ce voyage eut lieu en août 1825. Les voyageurs étaient Nodier, sa femme et sa fille Marie, Victor Hugo, sa femme et sa fille Léopoldine, enfin Gué, chargé d'illustrer le livre qui devait résulter du voyage. Au cours du voyage, ils visitèrent les Lamartine à Saint-Point ².

Pendant plusieurs années les soirées chez Nodier continuèrent à fournir aux romantiques l'occasion de discuter leurs théories et de lire leurs vers. Victor Hugo était un assidu. Ce ne fut qu'en 1828, lorsqu'il abandonna un peu l'Arsenal pour fonder avec Sainte-Beuve le Cénacle dit de Joseph Delorme, que les relations entre Nodier et lui cessèrent d'être intimes. Tout indique que jusqu'à ce moment leur entente fut parfaite, et que Nodier était l'ami préféré du jeune Hugo. Leur correspondance, les mémoires et souvenirs de leurs amis et de leurs contemporains, tout est d'accord sur ce point.

En ce qui concerne les rapports littéraires entre les deux hommes, nous constatons que, sans exception, les ouvrages de Nodier précédaient les ouvrages de V. Hugo du même genre. En outre, nous trouvons d'une part, des articles de critique de Nodier sur les publications de son ami, d'autre part, des allusions à Nodier dans l'œuvre de V. Hugo : c'est-

1. Bibliographie du voyage à Rheims : M^{me} Menessier Nodier, p. 263-266 ; *Victor Hugo raconté*, III, 28-33 ; *Choses vues*, t. I, 1825-38 : A Rheims ; Biré, *Victor Hugo avant 1830*, p. 372-79 ; Séché, *Le Cénacle*, pp. 250-52 ; *Bulletin du Bibliophile*, 1857, Lettres de Nodier à sa femme ; Salomon dans le *Correspondant* (10 fév. 1904) : Ces mêmes lettres citées dans un article ; *Correspondance de Victor Hugo*, t. I (Calmann-Lévy, 1896).

2. Bibliographie du voyage aux Alpes.

Les Annales romantiques, 1827, publièrent un morceau du livre annoncé.

J. Janin (*Bull. Bib.*, 1865), *Nodier, Hugo et de Vigny chez Lamartine*.

M^{me} Menessier-Nodier, p. 266-286 ; Lamartine, *Lettres*, 18 août 1825 ; *Victor Hugo raconté*, III, p. 34-64 ; Lamartine, *Souvenirs et portraits*, III, p. 42 ; *Note du voyage en Suisse* (*Revue de Paris*, août 1829, t. V) ; *Correspondance de Victor Hugo*, Lettre à son père, 31 juillet 1825 ; G. Simon dans la *Revue de Paris*, 15 avril 1904 : *Lamartine et Victor Hugo, Lettres inédites*.

à-dire donc, une relation littéraire active, réelle, et cons-
ciente. Dès 1823, dans *A mes odes* (*Odes et Ballades*, p. 75),
il y a un passage qui vise évidemment Nodier et son petit
cercle de la rue de Provence :

« Quand, tour à tour, prenant et rendant la balance,
Quelques amis, le soir, vous jugeaient en silence,
Poètes par la lyre émus,
Qui fuyaient la ville sonore,
Et transplantaient les fleurs d'Isaure
Dans les jardins d'Académus.

.
On vous voyait, suivis de sylphes et de fées,
Liant d'anciens faisceaux à nos jeunes trophées,
Glaner les camps et leurs travaux,
Ou pousser des cris prophétiques,
Ou demander aux temps gothiques
Leurs vieux contes, toujours nouveaux. »

Dans les *Odes* de 1825, ces allusions à Nodier se multiplient.
C'est l'année, il ne faut pas l'oublier, du voyage à Reims et du
voyage dans les Alpes.

Deux odes : *Le Sacre de Charles X* et *Le Voyage* se rattachent
au premier de ces événements. « Dans ce voyage, écrivait
Hugo, nous passions notre temps, Charles Nodier et moi, à
nous raconter les histoires et les romans gothiques... Les
contes pullulent dans cette campagne. Presque toute la
vieille fable gauloise y est née. Reims est le pays des chi-
mères. » (*Choses vues*, p. 3).

N'est-ce pas un écho de cette conversation que ces lignes de
l'ode, *Le Sacre de Charles X* « composée dans les premiers
jours de juin à l'ombre même de la cathédrale » ? (Biré, I,
p. 379.)

« Le vieux pays des Francs, parmi les métropoles,
Compte une église illustre, où venaient tous nos rois,
De ce pas triomphant dont tremblent les deux pôles,
S'humilier devant la croix.
Le peuple en racontait cent prodiges antiques :

Ce temple a des voûtes gothiques,
Dont les Saints aimaient les détours ;
Un séraphin veillait à ses portes fermées ;
Et les anges du ciel quand passaient leurs armées,
Plantaient leurs drapeaux sur les tours !

« C'est là que pour la fête on dresse des trophées.
L'or, la moire et l'azur parent les noirs piliers,
Comme un de ces palais où voltigeaient les fées,
Dans les rêves des chevaliers.
D'un trône et d'un autel les splendeurs s'y répondent ;
Des festons de flambeaux confondent
Leurs rayons purs dans le saint lieu ;
Le lys royal s'élance aux arches tutélaires ;
Le soleil à travers les vitraux circulaires,
Mêle aux fleurs des roses de feu.

« Montjoie et Saint-Denis ! Voilà que Clovis même
Se lève pour l'entendre ; et les deux saints guerriers,
Charlemagne et Louis portent pour diadème
Une auréole de lauriers. »

Et voici d'après une lettre à sa femme ce que Victor Hugo pensait de la décoration, quand il visita la cathédrale avec Nodier, la veille du sacre :

Rheims, 28 mai, 9 heures du matin.

« J'ai donc été hier visiter la cathédrale... nous avons passé Charles et moi un quart d'heure en contemplation devant le centre d'une porte... L'intérieur tel qu'on l'a fait est beaucoup moins beau qu'il n'était dans sa nudité séculaire... Cependant les ornements sont gothiques comme la cathédrale et tout, excepté le trône, est d'assez bon goût... Telle qu'elle est, cette décoration annonce encore le progrès des idées romantiques. Il y a six mois on eût fait un temple grec de la vieille église des Francs. » (*Correspondance* de V. Hugo, t. I, p. 248.)

En effet, Madame Victor Hugo était restée avec sa petite fille chez le général Hugo pendant que son mari était au sacre (*Victor Hugo raconté*, III, p. 28). On peut donc, il me

semble, rattacher à ce voyage à Reims, l'ode intitulée : *Le Voyage* datée également de 1825¹. Le poète s'adressant à sa femme, écrit :

« Et mon père essuyant une larme qui brille,
T'invite en souriant à sourire à ta fille. »

Le ton tendre et affectueux des vers, du reste, correspond tout à fait au ton des lettres journalières que Victor envoyait à Adèle pendant le voyage.

L'Ode.

« Pourtant, il faut encore, à tant
d'ennemis en proie,
Dans mes lettres du soir t'envoyer
quelque joie. »

« Ainsi donc aujourd'hui, demain,
après encore,
Il faudra voir sans toi naître et
mourir l'aurore,
Sans toi, et sans ton sourire et ton
regard joyeux. »

Les Lettres

19 mai : « Tu recevras cette
lettre inattendue demain et c'est
une grande joie pour moi au milieu
de toute ma tristesse que de
penser au plaisir que ce papier te
fera. »

« Je ne pense qu'avec un grand
abattement aux quatorze lieues
qui me séparent déjà de toi, aux
huit heures que je viens de passer
sans te voir. Que sera-ce donc demain
? que sera-ce après demain,
et après ? et après ? »

Enfin, la lettre de Reims, 27 mai, suggère deux strophes de l'ode : « Nous avons dîné hier à Soissons qui est une des plus jolies villes de France ; elle a une vallée délicieuse et deux églises admirables... Nous avons couché à Braine qui a une autre église en ruines aussi belle que l'abbaye de Ju-

1. V. Hartmann : *Zeittafel zu Victor Hugo's Werken*, p. 7.

Gegen den 20 mai : V. H. kehrt
wieder nach Paris zurück.

Seine Frau und sein Kind bleiben
eine Zeit lang in Blois.

29 mai : V. H. wohnt der Krönung
Karl's X in Rheims bei.

Mai (Aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach
stammt aus diesem Monat das nur
mit der Jahreszahl 1825 versehne
Gedicht), *Le Voyage*, Od. 5, 19.

Mai bis Juni. *Le Sacre de Charles X*
(Od. 3, 4).

mièges, dont tu as vu les dessins dans le *Voyage Pittoresque* de Nodier. »

Cf. « Et mon œil tour à tour, distrait suit dans l'espace
Chaque arbre du chemin qui paraît et qui passe :
Les bois verts, le flot d'or de la jeune moisson
Et les monts, et du soir l'étincelante étoile,
Et les clochers aigus et les villes que voile,
Un dais de brume à l'horizon !

Qu'importent les bois verts, la moisson, la colline,
Et l'astre qui se lève et l'astre qui décline,
Et la plaine et les monts, si tu ne les vois pas ?
Que me font ces châteaux, ruines féodales,
Si leur donjon moussu n'entend point sur ses dalles
Tes pas légers à côté de mes pas ?...

En octobre 1825, Victor Hugo écrivit *Aux ruines de Montfort-l'Amaury*. C'est une ode inspirée par son sentiment pour l'architecture du moyen âge :

« Vieilles tours que le temps l'une vers l'autre incline,
Et qui semblez de loin sur la haute colline,
Deux noirs géants prêts à lutter. »

« Mes yeux errent, du pied de l'antique demeure,
Sur les bois éclairés ou sombres, suivant l'heure,
Sur l'église gothique, hélas ! prête à crouler, »

« Foulant créneaux, ogive, écussons, astragales,
M'attachant comme un lierre aux pierres inégales,
Au faite des grands murs, je m'élève parfois. »

Outre cette inspiration dominante qui rattache l'ode à ce qu'on peut appeler, chez lui le « courant Nodier » je crois voir dans la dernière strophe une allusion directe à son ami :

« Là quelquefois j'entends le luth doux et sévère
D'un ami qui sait rendre aux vieux temps un trouvère.
Nous parlons des héros, du ciel, des chevaliers,
De ces âmes en deuil dans le monde orphelines ;
Et le vent qui se brise à l'angle des ruines
Gémit dans les hauts peupliers ! »

Il serait peut-être naturel au premier regard de chercher

Vigny dans cette allusion puisque celui-ci a fourni à la pièce une épigraphe qui, elle aussi, s'inspire des vieux temps :

« La voyez-vous croître,
La tour du vieux cloître,
Et le grand mur noir
Du royal manoir ? »

Mais ce doit être Nodier qui est visé. Il ne faut pas oublier qu'un mois seulement avant la composition de la pièce, Hugo était de retour de son voyage dans les Alpes avec Nodier, voyage pendant lequel ils ont visité ensemble maints lieux pittoresques, maintes ruines, tandis qu'avec Vigny, Hugo n'avait jamais voyagé, ils ne s'étaient fréquentés en somme qu'à Paris.

Ajoutons que cette préoccupation de l'architecture est commune à cette ode et au prologue de la *Ronde du Sabbat*, qui est du même mois et qui est dédiée à Charles Nodier. On lit dans le prologue :

« Voyez devant les murs de ce noir monastère »

« Dieu ! les voûtes, les tours, les portes découpées. »

« Tous, par les toits rompus, par les portails brisés
Par les vitraux détruits que mille éclairs sillonnent. »

Finalement ce serait Nodier et non pas un autre qui, dans *Les Ruines de Montfort-l'Amaury*, « sait rendre aux vieux temps un trouvère », qui parle des « héros », des « chevaliers ».

II. — *Le genre fantastique*

Qu'on nous pardonne ici une sèche table chronologique des faits. Elle sera plus précise qu'un autre genre d'explication et tout aussi éloquente.

Dates et œuvres à considérer chez

Nodier.

Les Esprits follets (passage tiré de *Smarra* (p. 321-323) et réimprimé dans les *Annales de la littérature et des arts*, 1821).

Trilby, 1822.

(Critique des *Nouvelles Odes. Quotidienne*, 1824, 8 mars).

(Critique des *Odes et Ballades, Quotidienne*, 1827, 10 févr.).

Victor Hugo

Nouvelles Odes, mars 1824, premier recueil à contenir des ballades, et qui en renferme trois : *Le Sylphe* (1823), *La grand'mère* (1823), *Une fée* (1824).

Odes et Ballades, oct. 1826.

La Fée et la Péri (1824).

A Trilby, le lutin d'Argaël.

Le Géant.

La Fiancée du Timbalier.

La Mêlée.

1825. *Les deux archers.*

Ecoute-moi Madeleine.

A un passant.

La Ronde du Sabbat (A.

M. C. Nodier).

Odes et Ballades, 1828.

La Chasse du Burgrave.

1828. *Le Pas d'armes du roi Jean.*

La Légende de la Nonne.

(Ces dates de composition sont prises de Hartmann : *Zeittafel zu Victor Hugo's Leben und Werken*, Oppeln, 1886).

Les habitués du salon de Nodier arrivaient, nous le savons, à se mouvoir dans une atmosphère de féerie. Chacun avait son lutin particulier, sa fée protectrice. Et c'était Nodier qui avait raconté des contes de fées, debout devant la cheminée, au début de chaque soirée ; c'était lui qui avait donné le chef-d'œuvre du genre dans *Trilby*, tandis qu'il en donnait, comme nous l'avons vu, la théorie pour ainsi dire, dans son œuvre de critique ¹. Or, c'est dès le moment qu'il connaît Nodier que

1. Voir p. 56.

V. Hugo cède à cette inspiration. Jusqu'à ce moment il n'y avait rien du fantastique riant et gracieux dans son œuvre¹. Des passages fantastiques font leur apparition dans ses *Odes* précisément en 1823 :

A. G.... Y.

« Souvent ici, domptant mes douleurs étouffées,
Mon bonheur s'éleva comme un château de fées,
Avec ses murs de nacre, aux mobiles couleurs,
Ses tours, ses portes d'or, ses pièges, ses trophées,
Et ses fruits merveilleux, et ses magiques fleurs. »

Paysage :

« Qu'il soit un frais vallon, un paisible royaume,
Où, parmi l'églantier, le saule ou le glaïeul,
Tu penses voir parfois, errant comme un fantôme,
Ces magiques palais qui naissent sous le chaume,
Dans les beaux contes de l'aïeul. »

C'est la même année qu'il écrivait la ballade *Le Sylphe* ; et qu'est-ce que le Sylphe sinon un lutin du type de *Trilby* ?

Trilby (p. 108) : « Pendant l'hiver il préfère à tout, les environs de l'âtre domestique. »

Le sylphe de Victor Hugo est :
« L'hôte du clair foyer durant les nuits d'hiver.

Trilby, après avoir été chassé de la chaumière de Dougal re-

Il demande asile chez la jeune fille, car il a froid :

1. Voici la liste des deux premières éditions des poésies de Victor Hugo :
Odes et poésies diverses, juin 1822 :

Les vierges de Verdun. Le rétablissement de la statue d'Henri IV. La Vendée. Moïse sur le Nil. La mort du duc de Berri. Le Génie. La naissance du duc de Bordeaux. La Fille d'O' Taiti. Le Regret. Quibéron. Le Poète dans les Révolutions. Le Baptême du duc de Bordeaux. Vision. Au vallon de Chérizy. Le Dévouement. A Toi. L'Homme heureux. Buonaparte. La Chauve-Souris. Le Nuage. Le Cauchemar. Le Matin. La Lyre et la Harpe. A l'Académie des Jeux floraux. Raymond d'Ascoli. Les deux Anges. Les derniers Bardes.

Odes, décembre 1822 :

Les vingt-quatre odes de la première édition. *Louis XVII. Jéhovah.*

Ces vers, avec les articles de critique du *Conservateur Littéraire*, le premier *Bug Jargal* et *Han d'Islande* constituent à peu près toute l'œuvre de Victor Hugo avant le moment où il fait la connaissance de Nodier ; on n'y trouve pas d'éléments féeriques.

vient pour demander que Jeannie le reçoive encore une fois (p. 144) : « Accueille-moi, Jeannie comme un ami, comme un amant, comme ton esclave, comme ton hôte... (p. 146), et personne ne m'entendra, sois-en sûre... (p. 147), j'ai froid, Jeannie. »

« Châtelaine, ouvre-moi, car ma demeure est close. »

« J'ai froid, l'ombre me glace, et vainement je pleure.

Je tiendrai peu de place et ferai peu de bruit ».

« Ouvre, mes yeux sont purs, mes paroles sont douces,

Comme ce qu'à sa belle un amant dit tout bas. »

Tout le long de la pièce, le « sylphe » s'efforce de prouver qu'il est un esprit doux et amical, c'est-à-dire un de ces esprits que Nodier décrit si joliment dans *Smarra* (321-323), dans ce passage qu'il a trouvé bon de réimprimer dans *Les Annales de la Littérature et des Arts* : « ce ne sont point des démons ennemis. Ils dansent, ils se réjouissent, ils ont l'abandon et les éclats de la folie. S'ils s'exercent quelquefois à troubler le repos des hommes, ce n'est jamais que pour satisfaire, comme un enfant étourdi, à de riants caprices. Ils se roulent, malicieux, dans le lin confus qui tourne autour du fuseau d'une vieille bergère, croisent, embrouillent les fils égarés, et multiplient les nœuds contrariants sous les efforts de son adresse inutile. Quand un voyageur qui a perdu sa route cherche d'un œil avide à travers tout l'horizon de la nuit quelque point lumineux qui lui promette un asile, longtemps ils le font errer de sentier en sentier, à la lueur d'un feu infidèle, au bruit d'une voix trompeuse, ou de l'aboïement éloigné d'un chien vigilant qui rôde comme une sentinelle autour de la ferme solitaire ; ils abusent ainsi de l'espérance du pauvre voyageur, jusqu'à l'instant où, touchés de pitié pour sa fatigue, ils lui présentent tout à coup un gîte inattendu, que personne n'avait jamais remarqué dans ce désert ; quelquefois même, il est étonné de trouver à son arrivée un foyer pétillant dont le seul aspect inspire la gaieté, des mets rares et délicats que le hasard a procurés à la chaumière du pêcheur ou du braconnier, et une jeune fille, belle comme les Grâces, qui le sert en craignant de lever les yeux : car il lui a paru que cet étran-

ger était dangereux à regarder. Le lendemain, surpris qu'un si court repos lui ait rendu toutes ses forces, il se lève heureux au chant de l'alouette qui salue le ciel pur ; il apprend que son erreur favorable a raccourci son chemin de vingt stades et demi, et son cheval, hennissant d'impatience, les naseaux ouverts, le poil lustré, la crinière lisse et brillante, frappe devant lui la terre d'un triple signal de départ. Le lutin bondit de la croupe à la tête du cheval du voyageur, il passe ses doigts subtils dans la vaste crinière, il la roule, la relève en ondes ; il regarde, il s'applaudit de ce qu'il a fait, et il part content pour aller s'égayer du dépit d'un homme endormi qui brûle de soif, et qui voit fuir, se diminuer, tarir devant ses lèvres allongées un breuvage rafraîchissant ; qui sonde inutilement la coupe du regard ; qui aspire inutilement la liqueur absente ; puis se réveille, et trouve le vase rempli d'un vin de Syracuse qu'il n'a pas encore goûté, et que le follet a exprimé de raisins de choix, tout en s'amusant des inquiétudes de son sommeil. Ici tu peux boire, parler, ou dormir sans terreur, car les follets sont nos amis. »

Il y a aussi du frénétique dans cette première ballade de Victor Hugo. Le sylphe timide et faible a peur des « démons de la nuit ». Les horreurs que son imagination dresse devant lui rappellent les visions de Smarra, le nain-vampire, entouré de fantômes et de spectres hideux.

« Demoiselle, entends moi ! de peur que la nuit sombre
Comme en un grand filet, ne me prenne en son ombre,
Parmi les spectres blancs et les fantômes noirs,
Les démons, dont l'enfer même ignore le nombre,
Les hiboux du sépulchre et l'autour des manoirs !

« Voici l'heure où les morts dansent d'un pied débile.
La lune au pâle front les regarde, immobile ;
Et le hideux vampire, ô comble de frayeur !
Soulevant d'un bras fort une pierre inutile,
Traîne en sa tombe ouverte un tremblant fossoyeur ¹.

1. C'est une jolie invention vampiresque, celle du fossoyeur entraîné par le vampire.

« Bientôt nains monstrueux, noirs de poudre ou de cendre,
Dans leur gouffre sans fond les gnomes vont descendre.
Le follet fantastique erre sur les roseaux.
Au frais ondin s'unit l'ardente salamandre,
Et de bleuâtres feux se croisent sur les eaux. »

Cette ballade qui montre si nettement l'inspiration de Nodier est, il faut le noter, la première que V. Hugo ait faite dans le genre. Nodier est donc là dès le commencement.

La critique a rattaché d'une façon générale les ballades de Victor Hugo à l'œuvre de Millevoye. Dans le *Mercur de France* (janvier 1910), M. Séché écrivait : « Deux influences ont dominé le premier romantisme : celle d'Alexandre Soumet, d'abord, car il fut le maître, le grand homme de cette pléiade, et en second lieu celle de Millevoye auquel Victor Hugo emprunta les ballades et qui dès le début s'imposa à l'inspiration de Lamartine. » Pourquoi donc Victor Hugo attendit-il jusqu'au moment où il fit la connaissance de Nodier pour s'inspirer de Millevoye si Nodier n'y jouait pas un rôle ? L'inspiration immédiate des ballades de Nodier semble trop évidente pour la remplacer par une autre. Or il est possible que Nodier, qui se mêlait de tout dans la première étape du romantisme, ait tiré de Millevoye son enthousiasme pour la forme de la ballade et l'ait communiqué ainsi à Victor Hugo, car dès 1813 il s'est occupé de Millevoye (deux articles sur lui dans les *Débats*, 30 décembre 1813 et 19 juin 1814). Dans *La Quotidienne* du 19 mars 1823, il donna un article sur les *Œuvres complètes de Millevoye* (réimprimé dans les *Annales de la Littérature et des Arts*) et *La Quotidienne* annonçait le 25 avril 1822, une édition des œuvres de Millevoye dont « la mise en ordre est confiée à M. Charles Nodier qui fut un des meilleurs amis de Millevoye et qui a reçu de ses dernières volontés cette intéressante mission ».

La Grand'mère date aussi de l'an 1823. Cette pièce est d'une inspiration plutôt réaliste, mais deux lignes montrent que

Victor Hugo s'était habitué à penser à la manière de ceux de ses amis qui fréquentaient les fées :

« Mère!... Hélas ! par degrés s'affaisse la lumière,
L'ombre joyeuse danse autour du noir foyer,
Les esprits vont peut-être entrer dans la chaumière. »

Une Fée de l'année suivante est une pièce d'une grande beauté, beaucoup plus sérieuse que *Le Sylphe*. C'est, cette fois, toute la théorie critique et consciemment comprise de Nodier, relative au rôle du fantastique en littérature qui semble avoir gagné Hugo. Le poète en effet ne s'est plus seulement mis à raconter un simple conte de fée ; la Fée est devenue sa véritable Muse :

« C'est elle, aux choses qu'on révère
Qui m'ordonne de m'allier,
Et qui veut que ma main sévère
Joigne la harpe du trouvère
Au gantelet du chevalier. »

Une autre strophe rappelle une autre préoccupation de Nodier qui, nous l'avons vu, était « le premier investigateur dans les ruines de la patrie » ¹.

« Qui, lorsqu'en des manoirs sauvages
J'erre, cherchant nos vieux berceaux,
M'environnant de mille images,
Comme un bruit de torrent des âges,
Fait mugir l'air sous les arceaux. »

De 1824, aussi est la *Fée et la Péri*, une ballade franchement « fantastique » mettant en scène des êtres intermédiaires : qui ne reconnaîtrait dans ces trois vers du Nodier tout pur ?

« Viens, jeune âme, avec moi, de mes sœurs obéie,
Peupler de gais follets la morose abbaye
Mes nains et mes géants te suivront à ma voix. »

1. Voir p. 28.

On peut même citer le passage de Nodier dont ils sont un écho distinct ; « Nous aimons à recueillir dans les vieux donjons, la fable de la fée protectrice, dans les hameaux celle du lutin familial. Nous retrouverons Mélusine sur les tours et les follets de Carnac errant en robes de flamme à travers leurs sauvages pyramides ».

Des huit ballades de 1825, trois, *La Fiancée du Timbalier*, *La Mêlée* et *Ecoute-moi, Madeleine*, n'ont pas d'éléments fantastiques, et nous pouvons donc les ignorer ici. Deux sont adressées à Nodier : l'une, *La Ronde du Sabbat* porte comme dédicace : « A M. Charles Nodier » et l'autre s'intitule : « *A Trilby, le lutin d'Argail*. » Dans ce dernier poème quatre strophes expriment l'admiration du poète et son affection pour le créateur de *Trilby*,

« Tel est Nodier, le poète !
Va, dis à ce noble ami
Que ma tendresse inquiète
De tes périls a frémi ;
Dis lui bien qu'il te surveille ;
De tes yeux charme sa veille,
Enfant ! Et lorsqu'il sommeille,
Dors sur son front endormi ! »

Les allusions dans cette ballade aux types fantastiques, aux *sylphides*, aux *ondines*, aux *gnomes*, aux *fantômes*, aux *spectres*, aux *nains frêles* aussi bien que les allusions dans la *Ronde du Sabbat* aux

« *Nains aux pieds de chèvre,
Goules dont la lèvre
Jamais ne se sèvre
Du sang noir des morts.* »

aux « *follets, spectres blêmes* », aux

« *Psylles aux corps grêles,
Aspioles frêles.* »

aux « *oiseaux fauves* »

« Dont les ailes chauves
Aux ciels des alcôves
Suspendent *Smarra*. »

ces allusions, dis-je, rattachent les deux ballades à certains passages de *Smarra* (1821) qui forment une véritable encyclopédie d'êtres surnaturels : « Quand les oiseaux des funérailles commencent à crier derrière les bois et que les reptiles chantent d'une voix cassée quelques paroles monotones à la lisière des marécages... fuis les sentiers cachés où les spectres se donnent rendez-vous pour former des noires conjurations contre le repos des hommes ; le voisinage des cimetières où se rassemble le conseil mystérieux des morts, quand ils viennent enveloppés de leurs suaires apparaître devant l'aéropage qui siège dans des cercueils » (p. 316). (Ce rapprochement qui, du reste, s'impose, est signalé par M. Souriau dans son édition de la *Préface de Cromwell* (p. 205) ; « des aspioles qui ont le corps si frêle,... des psylls qui sucent un venin cruel.... les goules, pâles, impatientes, affamées » (p. 333) ; « Nain difforme et joyeux dont les mains sont armées d'ongles d'un métal plus fin que l'acier qui pénètrent la chair sans la déchirer et boivent le sang à la manière de la pompe insidieuse des sangsues » (p. 340).

Il nous reste trois ballades de cette année (1825) : *Le Géant*, *Les deux Archers*, *A un passant*. *Le Géant* n'a pas de fantaisie, à vrai dire. C'est la force du Géant que chante Victor Hugo plutôt que ses qualités fantastiques. *Les deux Archers* est le récit d'une légende pieuse. Elle se rattache également moins au fantastique de Nodier que les autres ballades que nous avons examinées. C'est une histoire transmise telle quelle du moyen âge, et dite en vers par le poète. Ce n'est pas la féerie vécue, pour ainsi dire, la féerie réaliste de Nodier qui peuple le monde actuel de lutins et de fantômes. Hugo ne devra longtemps rester crédule au point de pouvoir s'intéresser aux problèmes d'un Trilby, mais la beauté des histoires du moyen âge continuera de le charmer.

La scène de la ballade est, pourtant, nodiérésque :

« Cependant sur la tour, les monts, les bois antiques,
L'ardent foyer jetait des clartés fantastiques;
Les hiboux s'effrayaient au fond des vieux manoirs;
Et les chauves-souris, que tout sabbat réclame,
Volaient et par moments épouvantaient la flamme
De leur grande aile aux ongles noirs. »

Sa dernière strophe rappelle aussi une thèse de Nodier :

« Si quelque enseignement se cache en cette histoire,
Qu'importe ! il ne faut pas la juger, mais la croire.
La croire ! qu'ai-je dit ? ces temps sont loin de nous !
Ce n'est plus qu'à demi qu'on se livre aux croyances.
Nul, dans notre âge aveugle et vain de sciences,
Ne sait plier les deux genoux ! »

La plus intéressante des trois, d'un certain point de vue, c'est *A un Passant*. Elle contient deux strophes avec simultanément les deux inspirations nodiérésques, fantastique et frénétique côte à côte :

« Ne crains-tu pas surtout qu'un follet à cette heure
N'allonge sous tes pas le chemin qui te leurre,
Et ne te fasse, hélas ! ainsi qu'aux anciens jours,
Rêvant quelque logis dont la vitre scintille,
Et le faisan, doré par l'âtre qui pétille,
Marcher vers des clartés qui reculent toujours ? »

C'est exactement, nous l'avons vu, ce que fait « l'esprit follet ». L'autre strophe a tout simplement la même inspiration que la *Ronde du Sabbat* :

« Crains d'aborder la plaine où le sabbat s'assemble,
Où les démons hurlants viennent danser ensemble;
Ces murs maudits par Dieu, par Satan profanés,
Ce magique château dont l'enfer sait l'histoire,
Et qui, désert le jour, quand tombe la nuit noire,
Enflamme ses vitraux dans l'ombre illuminés ! »

Qu'on relise maintenant la préface de *Trilby* : « Que signifierait du reste, dans l'éclat de nos mœurs et du milieu de

l'éblouissante profusion de nos lumières, l'histoire crédule des rêveries d'un peuple enfant appropriée à notre siècle et à notre pays ? Nous sommes trop perfectionnés pour jouir de ces mensonges délicieux, et nos hameaux sont trop savants pour qu'il soit possible de placer avec vraisemblance aujourd'hui les traditions d'une superstition intéressante. Il faut courir au bout de l'Europe, affronter les mers du nord et les glaces du pôle et découvrir dans quelques huttes à demi-sauvages une tribu tout à fait isolée du reste des hommes, pour savoir s'attendrir sur de touchantes erreurs, seul reste des âges d'ignorance et de sensibilité. »

La *Légende de la Nonne* est du même genre que *Les deux Archers*. Elle est de 1828, une des trois « nouvelles » ballades que Victor Hugo ajoute à la deuxième édition des *Odes et Ballades*. Nous touchons dans les deux autres à quelque chose d'intéressant dans la pratique de Victor Hugo ; *La Chasse des Burgraves* et *Le Pas d'armes du roi Jean* révèlent chez lui une nouvelle inspiration. Rien de fantastique ici sauf dans la forme, mais une bizarrerie de forme avec laquelle Nodier n'aurait pas sympathisé. J'y vois la première trace de l'influence de Sainte-Beuve qui, vers ce moment, remplace Nodier comme mentor de Victor Hugo. Sainte-Beuve, vers la même époque, ou un peu plus tard, dans les *Poésies* de Joseph Delorme (1829), s'intéresse également à des exercices de technique poétique, comme dans les vers *A la Rime* :

« Rime qui donnes leurs sons
Aux chansons,
Rime l'unique harmonie
Du vers, qui, sans tes accents
Frémissements,
Serait muet au génie. »

Du reste cette acrobatie prosodique continue à amuser Sainte-Beuve. Il s'y remet de temps à autre, notamment, dans les vers *A David*, des *Pensées d'Août* (1844) :

« L'enfant ayant aperçu,
A l'insu
De sa mère, à peine absente,
Pendant au premier rameau
De l'ormeau.
Une grappe mûrissante. »

C'est une pratique chère aux poètes de la Pléiade et ainsi une préoccupation toute naturelle chez Sainte-Beuve. Rappelons l'*Aubépin* de Ronsard :

« Bel aubépin fleurissant,
Verdissant », etc. (Voir note 1, p. 77.)

Sainte-Beuve méprisait les idées du Cénacle de la *Muse Française*. Dans ses *Portraits contemporains* il écrivait : « Hugo, par son humeur active et militante, par son peu de penchant pour la rêverie sentimentale, par son amour presque sensuel de la matière et des formes et des couleurs, par ses violents instincts dramatiques et son besoin de la foule, par son intelligence complète du moyen âge, même laid et grotesque et les conquêtes infatigables qu'il méditait sur le présent, par tous les bords enfin et dans tous les sens, dépassait et devait bientôt briser le cadre étroit, l'étouffant huis clos, où les autres jouaient à l'aise et dans lequel, sous forme de sylphe ou de gnome, il s'était fait tenir un moment. Aussi les marques qu'il en contracta sont légères et se discernent à peine : ses *premières ballades* se ressentent un peu de l'atmosphère où elles naquirent ; il y a trop sacrifié au joli ; il s'y est trop détourné à la périphrase : plus tard en dépouillant brusquement cette manière, il lui est arrivé, par une contradiction bien concevable, d'attacher une vertu excessive au mot propre et de pousser quelquefois les représailles jusqu'à prodiguer le mot cru. A part ces inconvénients passagers, l'influence de la période de la *Muse* n'entra pas dans son œuvre. Ces sucreries expirèrent à l'écorce contre la verdeur et la sève du jeune fruit croissant ».

C'est une critique sévère que fait ici Sainte-Beuve. Il ne peut pas y avoir de doute qu'il n'ait employé son ascendant sur Hugo, une fois cet ascendant acquis, pour le détourner de son goût pour le fantastique et pour empêcher que les nouvelles ballades de son ami continuassent le genre des premières.

L'apparition donc de ces ballades à la Sainte-Beuve, marquait la fin de la « période Nodier » chez Victor Hugo ¹.

III. — *Le genre frénétique.*

TABLE CHRONOLOGIQUE

<i>Nodier</i>	<i>Hugo.</i>
1818. <i>Jean Sbogar.</i>	1818. Premier <i>Bug Jargal.</i>
1810. <i>Le Vampire.</i>	
1821. <i>Bertram ou le Château de Saint-Aldobrand. Smarra.</i>	
1822. <i>Infernaliana.</i> Anecdotes, petits romans, nouvelles et contes sur les revenants, les spectres, les démons et les vampires, publiés par Ch. Nodier.	1822. <i>Odes et poésies diverses,</i> recueil qui contenait : <i>La Chauve-Souris</i> (1822). (Epigraphe de <i>Bertram</i> de Maturin). <i>Le Cauchemar</i> (1822).
1823. (Critique d' <i>Han d'Islande</i>)	1823. <i>Han d'Islande.</i> 1825. <i>Deuxième Bug Jargal.</i>

1. M. Léon Séché, *Sainte-Beuve*, t. I, p. 98, note : « Dans quelques-unes des petites ballades, dans la *Chasse du Margrave* entre autres, Victor Hugo semblait avoir pris à tâche de nous montrer qu'il pouvait jongler avec la rime en écho ou « empennière » avec autant d'habileté que Meschinot ou Joachim du Bellay. »

L'inspiration frénétique

Nous venons de voir déjà dans les « ballades » de V. Hugo, à côté du fantastique, des traces de ce genre frénétique que Nodier a tant contribué à introduire en France. Or, parmi les œuvres de V. Hugo il en est d'autres où cette inspiration frénétique domine encore plus ; comme l'a montré M. Estève, Hugo, à un moment donné, « pratiquait » ce genre.

D'abord, il faut y rattacher deux des odes écrites en 1822 : *La Chauve-Souris* et le *Cauchemar*. Toutes les deux sont antérieures à la date où il a fait la connaissance de Nodier, mais, étant donnée la liste d'œuvres de ce genre qu'avait publiées Nodier, les deux années précédentes : *Le Vampire*, 1820 ; *Bertram* ou *Le Château de Saint-Aldobrand* et *Smarra*, 1821 ; étant donnée l'épigramme tirée du *Bertram* de Maturin que Victor Hugo a mis en tête de *La Chauve-Souris* ; et étant donné le manque absolu d'images hardies, de pensées originales dans les odes, on ne saurait, il me semble, y voir autre chose qu'un exercice de la part de Victor Hugo dans un genre dont Nodier était le maître en France.

Le *Cauchemar* n'est en quelque sorte qu'un petit résumé poétique de *Smarra* (dont j'ai donné ci-dessus (pp. 55-56) le résumé) :

« Sur mon sein haletant, sur ma tête inclinée,
Ecoute, cette nuit il est venu s'asseoir ;
Posant sa main de plomb sur mon âme enchaînée,
Dans l'ombre il la montrait, comme une fleur fanée,
Aux spectres qui naissent le soir. »

Han d'Islande, également, fut composé avant que Victor Hugo eût personnellement connu Nodier. En effet, c'est la critique que Nodier en fit qui amena Victor Hugo chez lui pour le remercier. Mais, comment Victor Hugo aurait-il fait son premier roman sans le *Jean Sbogar* de Nodier, ou

sans le vampirisme du genre frénétique en général ? Même les contemporains ont dû se rendre compte des relations littéraires entre ce premier roman de Victor Hugo et l'œuvre de Nodier. La dédicace à la parodie *Og* est adressée « à *Jean Sbogar* et à ses successeurs, le *Vampire*, le *Solitaire*, le *Camisard*, *Han d'Islande*, etc. », (cité par Marsan, *La Bataille romantique*, p. 40, Hachette, 1912). Il est difficile de résister à la tentation de chercher l'origine de l'idée de *Han d'Islande* dans un passage de *Jean Sbogar* (p. 106) : « Pourquoi (Dieu) n'aurait-il pas jeté dans la société des âmes dévorantes et terribles qui ne conçoivent que des pensées de mort, comme il a déchaîné dans les déserts ces tigres et ces panthères effroyables qui boivent le sang des animaux sans jamais s'en désaltérer ? »

Mais *Han d'Islande*, n'est-il pas de fait, un anthropophage, un de ces êtres de la famille des tigres et des panthères ? N'est-il pas la cruauté sauvage et frénétique portée à ses dernières limites ce *Han*, buvant le sang humain « sans jamais s'en désaltérer ? » *Han d'Islande* est un vampire vivant.

Victor Hugo a choisi comme épigraphe à l'un de ses chapitres une citation de Nodier : « C'était le malheur qui les rendait égaux », et à deux autres des citations de *Bertram*.

Il y a dans ce récit sinistre et horrible une allusion précise à ces êtres bienfaisants que Victor Hugo a commencé à créer presque au lendemain de la publication du roman, grâce à son commerce avec Nodier. Cette allusion se rattache certainement à un passage de *Smarra* relatif aux esprits follets ; peut-être est-elle la première trace de l'influence que les relations personnelles entre les deux hommes allaient aussitôt fixer :

« Sur la grève de Kilvel à quelques milles au nord de la grotte de Walderbog, un seul endroit, disait-on, était libre de toute juridiction des esprits *infernaux*, *intermédiaires* ou célestes... et jamais un pêcheur attardé par le gros temps, en amarrant sa barque dans la crique de Ralphe, n'avait vu le

*follet*¹ rire et danser parmi les âmes sur le haut d'un rocher, ni la fée parcourir les bruyères dans son char de phosphore traîné par des vers luisants, ni le saint remonter vers la lune après la prière. » (P. 151.) Il y aurait encore d'autres rapprochements à établir entre *Jean Sbogar* et *Han d'Islande* : Ainsi les deux héros ont des traits communs : Antonia dans *Jean Sbogar* ne sait par exemple qui est ce Lothario, ce grand seigneur mystérieux ; l'Ordener, de *Han d'Islande* également, est une personne mystérieuse pour Ethel — elle ignore que c'est le fils du vieil ennemi de son père. J'ai constaté à propos du personnage de *Jean Sbogar* un élément de superstition populaire : « La renommée lui donnait des forces colossales et terribles » (p. 100). Or, chez *Han d'Islande*, nous retrouvons ce même élément : « Voilà selon les vieilles fileuses du pays comment s'est transporté en Norvège cet Islandais qui, grâce à son éducation, offre aujourd'hui toute la perfection du monstre » (p. 73), et également dans un autre passage : « Je voudrais voir la tête de ce Han afin de m'assurer que ses yeux sont deux charbons ardents comme on le dit ».

Han d'Islande est une œuvre d'apprenti, presque. C'est une œuvre d'imitation sans rien du vrai génie de Hugo. Hugo, poète, est beaucoup plus précoce que Hugo, romancier. Dans *Han d'Islande* il s'est tenu assez près de ces modèles du genre frénétique, et qui plus est, il n'a pas dédaigné de remonter jusqu'au roman sentimental du genre des *Proscrits* (1802) de Nodier pour les tristes épreuves d'Ordener, d'Ethel et de son père.

L'autre roman de Victor Hugo qui entre dans cette période est *Bug Jargal*, publié en 1825, c'est-à-dire au moment où Victor Hugo a peut-être le plus subi l'influence de Nodier. Sa première esquisse de *Bug Jargal* datait de 1818, l'année de l'apparition de *Jean Sbogar*. (Préface (1832) à *Bug Jargal* ; *Victor Hugo raconté*, II, p. 178-9.) Du moment qu'il n'y a pas

1. Ce sont des mots chers à Nodier.

de renseignement qui précise, au mois près, le moment de sa composition, il est impossible de donner une preuve matérielle pour ainsi dire que le tour de force du jeune Victor Hugo, composant son premier roman en quinze jours, lui ait été inspiré par le *Jean Sbogar* de Nodier. Il serait probablement plus juste en tous cas de supposer pour le *Bug Jargal* (malgré les ressemblances qui existent entre son héros et Jean Sbogar, l'un et l'autre chefs de bandits adorés par leurs gens), une inspiration tirée d'un type qui était devenu presque proverbial à cette époque, et dont l'original était le Charles Moor¹ des *Brigands* de Schiller. Celui-ci a dû aussi exercer une influence sur *Jean Sbogar*. Jean Sbogar et Bug Jargal ont tous les deux cependant un trait qui manque à Moor. Ils sont des personnages presque mythologiques grâce à leur grande renommée et au mystère qui les entoure.

Si, dans le premier *Jug Bargal*, tout ce qu'on peut présupposer, est une inspiration quelconque, dans le second alors, Nodier est intervenu.

Le premier *Bug Jargal* n'a que 40 pages, c'est une simple anecdote de camp rapidement racontée. Le deuxième, de 206 pages, est presque un roman achevé. Le premier manque absolument d'intrigue d'amour. Le second en a une, et l'amour de Bug Jargal pour Marie est triste, désespérant, comme l'amour de Jean Sbogar pour Antonia. Dans le premier *Bug Jargal* il n'y a pas d'éléments sinistres pour ainsi dire. Bug reçoit la mort, pour sauver la vie de son ami, en se livrant à un groupe d'ennemis. Dans le second *Bug Jargal* il y a un nain malveillant qui joue le rôle du traître. Il ne faut pas oublier qu'avant ce Habibrah de *Bug Jargal*, il y avait Smarra, le « nain difforme et joyeux » de Nodier, qui deviendrait ainsi l'ancêtre de Quasimodo. (Voir p. 70.)

1. Nodier, pour sa part, indique ce rapprochement, en rattachant Jean Sbogar à « tous les types du même caractère qu'offrent le roman et la poésie, depuis le capitaine Laroque de Cervantes jusqu'à Charles Moor des *Voleurs* ». (*Préliminaires* (1832), p. 87.)

Bug Jargal n'est pas un roman frénétique. C'est l'œuvre de transition entre *Han d'Islande* qui est un roman frénétique et *Notre-Dame* qui non seulement n'est pas un roman frénétique mais n'est bâti sur aucun modèle. Pour *Bug Jargal*, Hugo comme il en avait l'habitude, au moment de sa composition, puisa son inspiration chez Nodier. Dans le second *Bug Jargal*, Bug chante sous la fenêtre de Marie une romance espagnole qui fait penser tout de suite aux vers que le vieux Morlaque chantait devant Antonia, et dont la dernière phrase court comme un refrain à travers les pages de *Jean Sbogar*¹. Et voici la partie de la romance de Bug qui rappelle l'autre :

« Mais ne le sais-tu pas, il y a quelquefois au fond du désert un ouragan jaloux du bonheur de la fontaine aimée ; il accourt et l'air et le sable se mêlent sous le vol de ses lourdes ailes ; il enveloppe l'arbre et la source du tourbillon de feu ; et la fontaine se dessèche et le palmier sent se crisper, sous l'haléine de mort, le cercle vert de ses feuilles, qui avait la majesté d'une couronne et la grâce d'une chevelure... Tremble ô blanche fille d'Hispaniola ! tremble que tout ne soit bientôt plus autour de toi qu'un ouragan désert ! »

IV. — *Autres réminiscences de Nodier chez Hugo.*

Les Odes de Victor Hugo pendant ces mêmes années (c'est-à-dire de 1823 à 1827) révèlent comme les romans des réminiscences nodiérales².

1. « Fleuris, fleuris dans les bouquets parfumés de Pirane et parmi les raisins de Trieste qui sentent la rose ! Le jasmin lui-même qui est l'ornement de nos buissons périt et livre sa petite fleur aux airs, avant qu'elle soit ouverte quand le vent a jeté sa graine dans les plaines empoisonnées de Narente. C'est ainsi que tu sécherais, si tu croissais, jeune plante, dans les forêts qui sont soumises à la domination de Jean Sbogar. » (p. 104).

2. Biré, I, p. 387-388, indique les pages de Victor Hugo de 1825 intitulées : *Guerre aux Démolisseurs* et ajoute : « Dans cette campagne contre les démo-

En 1823, c'est-à-dire l'année où commença leur amitié, Victor Hugo écrivit *La Bande noire* à laquelle il donna comme épigraphe une ligne de Nodier : « Voyageur obscur, mais religieux au travers des ruines de la patrie... je priais. » Nodier, depuis 1820, nous l'avons vu, faisait la guerre à la Bande noire. Tout le monde lui accordait l'honneur d'avoir été le premier dans cette grande entreprise. Or je ne vois dans l'œuvre de Hugo antérieure à 1823 ni l'amour patriotique du moyen âge français, ni l'amour esthétique du gothique¹.

Nous avons donc ici une confirmation de ce que nous avons trouvé tout à l'heure à propos des ballades : à partir de 1823 l'adoption par Hugo des préoccupations et des opinions même de Nodier paraît incontestable. Et c'est en 1828, qu'une nouvelle influence commence à se manifester, celle de Sainte-

lisseurs, Victor Hugo venait après Charles Nodier qui, dès 1820, dans son *Voyage pittoresque et romantique dans l'ancienne France*, avait défendu avec éclat la cause de notre architecture nationale ».

L'article : *Guerre aux Démolisseurs* en effet se rattache par son premier paragraphe au travail de Nodier : « Si les choses vont encore quelque temps de ce train, il ne restera bientôt plus à la France d'autre monument national que celui des *Voyages pittoresques et romantiques* où rivalisent de grâce, d'imagination et de poésie le crayon de Taylor et la plume de Charles Nodier, dont il nous est permis de prononcer le nom avec admiration, quoiqu'il ait quelquefois prononcé le notre avec amitié. » (*Littérature et Philosophie mêlées*, p. 227.)

1. Le seul passage que j'ai trouvé antérieur à cette date et qui trahisse un intérêt quelconque dans l'architecture est celui-ci de *Han d'Islande* :

« Quiconque a parcouru des montagnes en Europe n'aura pas manqué de remarquer fréquemment des restes de forts et de châteaux suspendus à la crête des pics les plus élevés, comme d'anciens nids de vautours ou des aires d'aigles morts. En Norvège surtout, au siècle où nous nous sommes transportés, ces sortes de constructions aériennes étonnaient autant par leur variété que par leur nombre. C'étaient tantôt de longues murailles démantelées, se roulant en ceinture autour d'une roc ; tantôt des tourelles grêles et aiguës surmontant la pointe d'un pic, comme une couronne ; ou sur la tête blanche d'une haute montagne de grosses tours groupées autour d'un grand donjon et présentant de loin l'aspect d'une vieille tiare. On voyait, près des frères arcades ogives d'un cloître gothique, les lourds piliers égyptiens d'une église saxonne près de la citadelle à tours carrées d'un chef payen, la forteresse à créneaux d'un sire chrétien ; près du château-fort ruiné par le temps, un monastère détruit par la guerre. » C'est bien banal.

Beuve¹. Or, la *Préface de Cromwell* est de 1827. Faut-il la rattacher à la période Nodier ou est-ce qu'on y trouve déjà les idées de Sainte-Beuve ? C'est ce que nous allons discuter dans le chapitre suivant.

1. Dans l'œuvre postérieure de Hugo, cependant, l'inspiration qu'il avait originellement de Nodier reparaîtra à plusieurs reprises : l'inspiration fantastique, par exemple, dans la légende du *Beau Pécopin du Rhin* ; l'inspiration frénétique dans les *Travailleurs de la Mer*.

CHAPITRE III

LES RAPPORTS DE L'ŒUVRE CRITIQUE DE NODIER AVANT 1827 AVEC LA PRÉFACE DE CROMWELL

Je crois utile de commencer par une rapide récapitulation des idées directrices de la *Préface*, en soulignant les points où l'influence de Nodier me paraît se faire particulièrement sentir.

La première partie du manifeste est consacrée à une théorie générale du développement de la littérature à travers les siècles : L'objet de la littérature n'est pas arrêté d'avance, ni immobile, selon cette théorie. Il change avec la civilisation et chaque étape de la littérature est déterminée par une étape spéciale de la société. Ainsi on peut constater l'existence de trois époques dans l'histoire de la littérature : La première correspond aux temps primitifs de la civilisation, et la forme littéraire dont se revêtaient le plus naturellement les idées des hommes de cette époque c'était l'ode (la Bible) ; aux temps héroïques, c'était l'épopée (Homère) ; aux temps modernes, le drame (Shakespeare).

Ceci mène l'auteur à une discussion du drame, puisque selon les doctrines qu'il vient d'établir, c'est là le grand problème de la littérature moderne : « Le caractère du drame, dit-il, est le réel : le réel résulte de la combinaison toute naturelle de deux types, le sublime et le grotesque ». C'est la littérature moderne qui a introduit pour la première fois ce nouvel élément du grotesque pour en faire le trait essentiel du drame et Shakespeare est l'auteur qui a le mieux manié cet élément. Suit une étude détaillée de la technique du drame. D'abord

l'auteur parle des unités. Il n'y a que l'unité d'action qui soit indispensable, conclut-il. Il ne doit y avoir de règles pour le drame que les règles générales de la nature, puisque le drame est un miroir où se refléchit la nature ». Ensuite, il considère des questions de langue et trouve que la langue « idéale du drame est un vers libre. » Enfin il s'occupe des personnages, et exige que le héros d'un drame moderne soit un de ces « hommes complets » tel que Cromwell, et par homme complet il veut dire mélange du grand et du petit. Pour terminer, Hugo explique pour ainsi dire la raison d'être de la *Préface*, en constatant que la littérature romantique a besoin d'une critique nouvelle, hardie et grave, pour remplacer la vieille critique qui s'est bornée à l'examen des règles classiques.

Là *Préface de Cromwell* a fait, comme on le sait, grand bruit parmi ceux qui s'intéressaient aux questions de littérature. Les critiques lui ont consacré à elle beaucoup plus d'attention qu'au drame qui la suivait. Ils étaient presque tous — on le serait moins aujourd'hui, — d'accord pour y voir un manifeste original et audacieux. Un article qui révèle cette attitude est celui de la *Revue Encyclopédique*, mars 1828 : « *Cromwell, drame par Victor Hugo*, par Chauvet : « Parlerai-je d'abord, écrivait celui-ci, de la dissertation qui précède le drame ? Mais dans ce morceau écrit de verve et copieusement assaisonné d'esprit et d'originalité, le vrai et le faux sont tellement mêlés qu'un volume suffirait à peine à l'examen d'une préface. Essayons pourtant de faire connaître une doctrine qui ne tend à rien moins qu'à refaire de fond en comble la théorie des beaux arts ». C'est à la théorie du grotesque qu'il fait allusion.

Il n'y eut que le critique du *Journal des Débats*¹ qui ne paraît pas avoir été ébloui par l'éclat du style au point de ne pas reconnaître que ces théories critiques qui y figuraient

1. Articles dans les numéros du 3 janv., 29 janv. et 6 août 1828. Signés R. qui, d'après le *Livre du centenaire du Journal des Débats* (p. 542), doivent être d'Etienne Bequet.

n'étaient en effet pas si nouvelles que cela. « La plupart de ces idées, lit-on, ne sont pas nouvelles, d'autres ne paraissaient l'être qu'à force de bizarrerie, mais toutes sont présentées avec une spirituelle audace de paradoxe, une vivacité remarquable de style qui leur donne une apparence de raison et un air de fraîcheur. On est tenté de voir la vérité où on voit tant d'esprit de conviction et de franchise ».

Si elles n'étaient pas nouvelles, ces idées-là, qui les avait formulées avant Hugo ? L'édition de la *Préface* de M. Maurice Souriau, avec sa longue introduction et ses notes copieuses se propose de répondre à cette question : « La *Préface*, dit M. Souriau (p. xiv et xvi) n'est que son chef-d'œuvre d'apprenti, c'est la fin de Victor Hugo, disciple d'autrui... L'aboutissement de toute une série d'efforts, conversations, articles de journaux, préfaces, livres, dont quelques-uns appartiennent en propre à Victor Hugo, dont la majeure partie est empruntée à ses prédécesseurs, à ses contemporains ».

Les parallèles qu'établit M. Souriau sont en beaucoup de cas très ingénieux. On a depuis longtemps reconnu la haute valeur de ce travail minutieux de comparaison entre la littérature antérieure à 1827 — celle qu'on peut rattacher à l'école romantique — et la *Préface* elle-même. Son manque de connaissance de l'œuvre de Nodier, cependant, est frappant et il en résulte des lacunes profondes dans son travail. D'après les rares allusions à Nodier que contiennent ses notes, nous sommes amenés à conclure que M. Souriau n'aura guère connu que quelques volumes de lui (ceux qui sont à la portée de tout le monde) et qu'il ignore réellement toute l'œuvre critique de Nodier hors les *Mélanges* et la *Littérature Légale*.

J'ai en effet constaté l'action de Nodier sur l'esprit et sur l'œuvre de Victor Hugo dès le début de leur amitié en 1823 ¹. Et dans mon examen de l'œuvre critique ² de Nodier j'avais

1. Chapitre II.

2. Chapitre I.

constaté que parmi ses préoccupations principales étaient : la littérature étrangère, et la nouvelle littérature française. Ce sont les mêmes préoccupations que chez l'auteur de la *Préface*.

Victor Hugo devait certainement à peu près tout lire de Nodier, non seulement parce qu'ils étaient amis, mais surtout parce que c'était Nodier qui se chargeait si souvent, pendant les années 1813-1827, de la défense de la nouvelle école contre les critiques classiques.

La conclusion à tirer de ces faits saute aux yeux : Il ne faut pas écrire une étude sur les idées de la *Préface de Cromwell* sans s'être documenté solidement sur Nodier ; car il y a toutes les chances de trouver surtout dans l'œuvre critique de Nodier des idées non originales de Victor Hugo. Il est évident que ces idées que nous avons trouvées chez Nodier et que nous tâcherons de reconnaître sous une nouvelle forme dans la *Préface* n'étaient pas toutes nées avec Nodier, elles étaient plus ou moins dans l'air, mais si Nodier en parlait beaucoup, s'il insistait sur elles dans ses écrits, si c'était lui qui les popularisait en France et qui avait vu, le premier peut-être, leur portée en ce qui concerne la littérature française ; c'est bien par la voie de Nodier, auquel il devait déjà tant d'inspirations heureuses, que Victor Hugo devait les avoir reçues.

Le premier paragraphe du livre de M. Marsan, *La Bataille Romantique* (déjà cité), indique la nécessité de ne pas chercher seulement les influences générales dans un pareil cas : « Que toutes les idées romantiques soient en germe dans l'œuvre de Chateaubriand et de M^{me} de Staël, que l'imagination lyrique de Rousseau ait ouvert les voies à la poésie moderne et que, d'autre part, une révolution littéraire fût fatale après tant de secousses politiques, cela peut se démontrer aisément ; mais cela ne nous apprend pas à quel moment, à la faveur de quelles circonstances, à la suite de quelles œuvres cette révolution put s'accomplir. Les grandes influences générales s'exercent d'ordinaire à l'insu de ceux-mêmes

qui les subissent ; à côté des causes profondes d'un mouvement poétique, ses causes occasionnelles valent d'être connues ».

Or, à mon avis, les idées critiques de Nodier ont été parmi les principales « causes occasionnelles » de la *Préface de Cromwell* et j'ose dire que M. Souriau a le plus négligé parmi les précurseurs de Victor Hugo, celui-là précisément qui le méritait le moins.

Ce ne seront pas nécessairement des passages littéralement analogues que nous devons nous attendre à trouver, cela s'entend. L'esprit de Victor Hugo travaillant sur la masse de matériaux qu'il avait dans sa mémoire, fit de la *Préface* une œuvre véritablement à lui, non pas un recueil de citations des idées d'autrui. Toutefois les idées sont assez nettement les mêmes pour ne pas laisser de doute.

Avant d'aborder à mon tour l'étude des idées fondamentales de la *Préface*, en les comparant avec l'œuvre de Nodier, examinons les quelques passages où M. Souriau affirme l'inspiration directe de Nodier ¹.

Le nom de Nodier paraît deux fois dans la *Préface* :

1^o (p. 28) dans le texte même : « Comme dit Charles Nodier : après l'école d'Athènes, l'école d'Alexandrie ».

M. Souriau trouve l'origine de cette phrase dans un passage de *Littérature légale* (1822) : « Victor Hugo, dit-il (S. p. 258) condense la pensée de Nodier parlant des novateurs ; ils sont venus dans un temps malheureux, c'est-à-dire vers la décadence d'une très belle littérature, où il n'y avait plus de rangs bien éminents à prendre ; de sorte qu'on doit leur savoir quelque gré d'avoir essayé de remplacer par une innocente industrie les ressources qui leur ont été ravies par leurs devanciers. Ainsi, et par les mêmes procédés s'anéantit le génie des muses grecques dans l'école d'Alexandrie » (*Questions de littérature légale*, p. 99-100.)

1. Quand il n'y a pas d'autre indication, les citations de la *Préface* sont prises de l'édition de *Ne Varietur*. S. indique l'édition de Souriau.

Il y a cependant un autre rapprochement à faire. Dans *La Quotidienne* du 22 octobre 1827, au moment même de la composition de la *Préface*, Nodier reprend la même idée et écrit : « Tout le monde sait que pendant trois siècles nous avons été religieusement grecs en littérature et en histoire. Des pédants dont le nom même est devenu ridicule avaient donné cette étrange impulsion à notre génie national ; des hommes du goût le plus pur et de l'esprit le plus cultivé s'y étaient livrés avec un abandon plus étrange encore ; tout semblait annoncer que nous suivrions jusqu'à la fin la trace de nos devanciers et l'école d'Alexandrie était arrivée déjà à la suite de l'école d'Athènes ».

La phrase de la *Préface* est presque celle de l'article de *La Quotidienne*, et, étant donné la date de l'article il est évident que Victor Hugo y faisait allusion plutôt qu'au passage mentionné par M. Souriau.

2^o (p. 391), dans une note (à propos de cette phrase... « Trois Homères bouffons : Arioste en Italie, Cervantes en Espagne, Rabelais en France », p. 14), Victor Hugo lui-même ajoute : « Cette expression est de M. Ch. Nodier qui l'a créée pour Rabelais et qui nous pardonnera de l'avoir étendue à Cervantes et à l'Arioste ».

Je n'ai pas retrouvé l'expression exacte dans l'œuvre de Nodier. Je serais disposée à croire que Victor Hugo a dû l'entendre *dire* à Nodier, et ce serait bien caractéristique des manières de procéder des deux hommes : Victor Hugo sachant mettre en relief ce mot frappant qui « ferait fortune », comme dit M. Souriau (S. p. 211), tandis que Nodier l'avait jeté dans sa conversation sans se donner même la peine de le faire valoir dans un de ses articles sur Rabelais ¹ (*Journal des*

1. Et il va de soi qu'il en est ainsi, dans un bon nombre de cas, assez difficiles à préciser quand il s'agit de l'influence de Nodier. Cette influence était surtout orale, dit M. Léon Séché, il parlait mieux qu'il n'écrivait. Ses amis se souvenaient sans doute d'une quantité de mots et d'idées tout à fait siennes et qu'il ne songeait jamais à mettre sur papier.

Débats, 1823 ; *Mélanges de littérature et de critique*, 1820 ; *La Quotidienne*, 1823). On y trouve cependant, dans le dernier cité, un passage qui renferme l'idée du mot : « L'abstracteur de quintessence (i. e. Rabelais) était tout simplement un *bouffon de génie* appelé par la nature de son talent et la bizarrerie de son esprit à se jouer de tout, une *espèce de Tabarin organisé comme Homère*, et qui avait le monde entier comme théâtre ».

3^o M. Souriau (S. p. 205) ajoute au passage : « N'est-ce pas parce que l'imagination moderne sait faire rôder hideusement dans nos cimetières les vampires, les ogres, les aulnes, les psyllés, les goules, les brucolacques, les aspioles, qu'elle peut donner à ses fées cette forme incorporelle ? » (p. 12), une note rappelant des vers de la *Ronde du Sabbat*¹ qui, nous l'avons vu, est une pièce dédiée à Ch. Nodier et fut écrite sous l'inspiration de *Smarra*.

Ce passage est, en effet, un vrai passage Nodier. Dès le commencement de sa carrière littéraire², celui-ci s'est occupé des êtres intermédiaires, fantastiques, gracieux ou grotesques, et les noms dont se sert ici Hugo reviennent une quantité de fois dans l'œuvre de Nodier. « C'est en effet, dit M. Souriau (S. p. 204), dans le *Smarra* de Nodier que Victor Hugo a fait connaissance avec les aspioles... les psyllés... les goules. » Même abstraction faite des contes, cet élément fantastique en littérature est une des plus chères préoccupations de Nodier³. C'était bien lui qui avait collaboré à la popularisation du *vampirisme* en France ; il y a l'histoire d'un *brucolacque* dans *Infernaliana*, publié par lui en 1822, dont le sous titre : *Petits romans, nouvelles et contes sur les revenants, les spectres, les démons et les vampires*, suffit pour indiquer le genre.

1. Voir chap. II, p. 72-73.

2. Nous trouvons dès 1803 dans les *Méditations du Clotire*, des fées et des psyllés.

3. Voir chap. I.

4^o M. Souriau met en note aux lignes suivantes de la *Préface* : « La marche du grotesque... traverse en naissant la littérature latine qui se meurt, *y colore* Perse, Pétrone, Juvénal et y laisse l'*Ane d'or* d'Apulée » (p. 13), un passage tiré de l'*Essai* sur le *Fantastique en Littérature* : « A la chute du premier ordre de choses sociales, dont nous avons conservé la mémoire, celui de l'esclavage et de la mythologie, la littérature fantastique surgit comme le songe d'un moribond au milieu des ruines du paganisme dans les écrits des derniers classiques grecs et latins, de Lucien et d'Apulée ». *Le Fantastique en Littérature* est postérieur à la *Préface* ¹, mais on peut trouver la même idée exprimée par Nodier à une époque antérieure : Préface de *Smarra* (1821)... « ce qui n'empêche pas qu'Apulée soit un des écrivains les plus romantiques des temps anciens. Il florissait à l'époque même qui sépare les âges du goût, des âges de l'imagination » (p. 303).

5^o M. Souriau consacre également une note à cet autre passage de la *Préface* : « Certes, celui qui a dit que les *Français n'ont pas la tête épique* a dit une chose juste et fine ; si même il eût dit les modernes, le mot spirituel eût été un mot profond » (p. 16). « Hugo se sépare ici en partie de son ami Nodier, écrit M. Souriau » (S. p. 218), et il donne une citation des *Mélanges* (I, p. 267) : « Peut-on dire que les Français n'ont pas une tête épique, et si ce reproche insignifiant n'est fondé sur aucun argument, sur aucune conjecture physiologique ou morale, faut-il conclure que ce qui leur manque, c'est un système de versification, de poésie, de langage, de civilisation peut-être, approprié au genre épique et aux idées de l'épo-

1. *Revue de Paris*, novembre, 1830. M. Souriau n'aurait-il pas dû se préoccuper de cette date ? Elle est également ignorée par M. Breuillac dans son article de la *Rev. d'Histoire litt.* (1906) sur *Hoffmann en France* (pp. 427-57). « Quatre-vingts ans plus tard, écrit-il (il s'agit du *Dictionnaire philosophique* de Voltaire), Nodier publiait une longue étude : *Du fantastique en littérature* ». Or, le *Dictionnaire philosophique* est de 1764 ; l'*Essai* de Nodier de 1830. Il n'est pas nécessaire d'être mathématicien pour corriger le 80 en 66.

pée ? » « Et pourtant, continue M. Souriau, Hugo ne développe en somme que l'idée indiquée par Nodier » et il cite encore une fois les *Mélanges* (I, p. 268) « Tous les âges d'une littérature conviennent-ils également à la composition de l'épopée ? L'expérience des siècles répond que non, etc... »

Il y a d'autres textes de Nodier à ajouter à ces deux données par M. Souriau. Cette question de l'épopée dans la littérature française l'avait beaucoup intéressé : « M. Viennet a un fragment du poème des Francs qui ne paraîtra jamais parce que le siècle des poèmes épiques est définitivement passé (*Débats*, 25 nov. 1815) ;

« Ce n'est qu'au commencement des temps historiques et quand l'histoire elle-même n'a pas encore été écrite qu'on trouve l'épopée, car l'épopée n'est que l'histoire des temps merveilleux ». (*Mélanges*, I, p. 254) ;

« Sir Walter Scott aurait produit une épopée comme un roman s'il était né dans un siècle épique au lieu de naître dans un siècle romanesque ». (*Quotidienne*, 29 août 1823) ;

Quant à la déclaration de Souriau que Victor Hugo « se sépare ici en partie de son ami Nodier » je ne vois pas trop clairement que Nodier constate que les Français ont la tête épique. En tout cas, dans un autre passage, il dit : « *Titus* sera certainement un bon sujet épique s'il est possible de faire une épopée en français, question que personne à mon avis n'a encore résolue, au moins en vers. »

6° M. Souriau dit au sujet de la phrase : « Virgile n'est que la lune d'Homère » (p. 26). « Peut-être est-ce un souvenir, une condensation de ce passage de Nodier : « On est porté à croire que si Homère n'avait point existé, il serait possible que Virgile n'eût point écrit... Le poète primitif brille de tout l'éclat que réfléchit sa postérité littéraire. La lumière qui s'échappe de lui se reflète plus ou moins dans ses successeurs, mais c'est lui qui l'a faite » (S. p. 249).

Le rapprochement paraît difficile à admettre. Si M. Sou-

riau tend en général à négliger l'influence de Nodier, il ne faut pas, par ailleurs, se contenter de rapprochements aussi vagues que celui-ci.

7^o A propos de la phrase de Victor Hugo : « Le poète est un arbre qui peut être battu de tous les vents et abreuvé de toutes les rosées, qui porte ses ouvrages, comme des fruits, comme le fablier portait ses fables », (p. 27), Souriau met en note (S. p. 25) « C'est le mot de M^{me} de Bouillon... Victor Hugo a pu prendre l'anecdote ou dans d'Olivet ou dans La Harpe. Plus probablement encore, il voulait, en citant ce mot, faire allusion au livre peu connu de son ami Nodier, *Examen critique des Dictionnaires de la langue française* (p. 171) de la seconde édition : « Rendre fablier par fabuliste, c'est détruire tout le charme de cette délicieuse expression faite pour La Fontaine et qui n'est applicable qu'à La Fontaine. Un fabuliste fait des fables ; le fablier en produit comme sans le savoir ».

Hugo ne pouvait guère vouloir faire allusion à cet *Examen* de Nodier car la première édition n'en a paru qu'en 1828 (chez Delangle, 1 vol. in-8^o)¹. Il est possible cependant que Nodier ait pris devant lui la défense de ce mot, qui, puisqu'il l'a fait entrer dans la liste relativement courte de son *Examen*, a dû être un de ses mots de prédilection.

8^o Dans la *Préface* (p. 33), on lit : « Molière occupe la sommité de notre drame, non seulement comme poète mais encore comme écrivain :

« Palmas vere habet iste duas »

et M. Souriau ajoute comme commentaire : « J'ignore d'où

1. Dans une autre note également, M. Souriau semble ignorer que l'*Examen* est postérieur à la *Préface* (p. 287) : « Il serait plus vraisemblable de supposer que Victor Hugo s'est converti à des idées plus scientifiques le jour où il a lu dans l'*Ex. crit. des Dict.* de son ami Nodier, à l'article Scaligérien : « Il serait injuste et ridicule de s'imaginer qu'une langue est nécessairement arrêtée le jour où la dernière édition du *Dictionnaire* de l'Académie est mise en vente. Les langues croissent tant qu'elles vivent. »

vient cette citation. En somme c'est un hommage rendu à un ancêtre puisque Ch. Nodier écrivait en 1820 : « On me demandera si Molière est classique... je répondrai que si Molière arrivait maintenant on l'accuserait probablement de pencher vers le genre romantique » (*Mél.*, I, 384) (S. p. 278). La note de M. Souriau ne semble guère pertinente. On ne voit pas trop le rapprochement entre les deux passages. Il est possible que Nodier ait été pour quelque chose dans l'enthousiasme de Victor Hugo pour Molière. Est-ce là ce que veut dire M. Souriau ?

9^o Voici un autre passage suggéré par M. Souriau et qui est moins frappant encore (S., p. 297) : Hugo appelle Napoléon (p. 36) le type et le chef de tous ces « hommes complets » tels que Cromwell.

« On voit que le *Cromwell* de Victor Hugo, écrit M. Souriau, fait chez lui partie de l'inspiration bonapartiste, à moins que ce parallèle caché ne soit un souvenir de Ch. Nodier. Les contemporains en effet, et Nodier tout le premier, sont hantés par cette idée, par ce nom. Ils faussent l'histoire en essayant de retrouver partout des analogies entre Napoléon et n'importe qui : parlant de l'*Histoire de l'empereur Julien*, par Joudot, Nodier dira : « Ce tableau rapide a dû faire naître plusieurs fois l'idée d'un rapprochement très naturel entre Julien l'Apostat et un autre dupeur d'hommes fort célèbre chez les modernes », etc. (*Mél.*, II, 58 ; cf. 187-88). « Mais il est inutile, ajoute M. Souriau, de chercher ici l'influence de Nodier, car la comparaison entre Cromwell et Bonaparte était indiquée à Victor Hugo par l'empereur lui-même qui, rapprochant les révolutions d'Angleterre et de France, concluait : « dans ce parallèle singulier, Napoléon se trouve avoir été en France tout à la fois le Cromwell et le Guillaume III de l'Angleterre ». (Mémorial, 1^{er} mai 1816 ; I, 103). Pourquoi donc avoir indiqué la possibilité de cette influence ? On finit par se lasser de ces citations des *Mélanges* appliquées à tort et à

travers. Assurément l'intérêt constant que ressentait Victor Hugo pour Napoléon aurait suffi pour le faire s'exprimer ainsi.

10° Enfin M. Souriau emprunte à la grande *Encyclopédie*, comme note à l'allusion à Bobèche, (p. 42) ces lignes : « Le spectacle de ses pantalonnades attirait la foule et les lettrés de l'époque ; entre autres Charles Nodier ne dédaignait pas d'y assister ». (S., p. 310.)

Il reste deux passages à signaler en rapport avec Nodier que M. Souriau néglige et auxquels je n'attache du reste pas plus d'importance que cela.

11° « Le sénat romain délibéra sur le turbot de Domitien » (p. 19), rappelle une pensée de Nodier (*Débats*, 1817, article réimprimé dans les *Mélanges*, sur l'*Administration de l'empire romain sous Dioclétien*) : « Sous Domitien le sénat délibéra sur l'assaisonnement du turbot ».

12° Hugo donne comme exemple du grotesque « la poule au pot d'Henri IV ». Souriau y trouve un souvenir de Stendhal ¹. En tous cas, Nodier avait bien joliment dit la chose avant *Racine* et *Shakespeare* (1822), car dans les *Débats* du 14 avril 1814, dans un feuilleton dramatique sur *La Partie de Chasse de Henri IV*, il écrivait : « C'est le seul ouvrage dramatique où l'on ait fait parler à Henri IV son véritable langage... La majesté du ton épique dénature la liberté originale de ses expressions qui valent toujours mieux que les plus beaux vers ». Le 8 mai, Nodier reprend cette idée et cite les vers auxquels Stendhal fait allusion, de la pièce de Legouvé : *La Mort d'Henri IV*, ajoutant : « M. Legouvé a noyé l'expression

1. « Ce qu'il y a d'antiromantique, c'est M. Legouvé dans sa tragédie d'Henri IV, ne pouvant pas reproduire le plus beau mot de ce roi patriote : Je voudrais que le plus pauvre paysan de mon royaume pût au moins avoir la poule au pot le dimanche ». (S. p., 270).

la plus populaire et la plus touchante d'Henri IV dans cette paraphrase sans couleur ».

Les passages ci-dessus indiquent tout simplement que Victor Hugo n'avait pas oublié les conversations et les pages écrites de son ami Nodier. J'attribuerai déjà beaucoup plus d'importance à cette remarque : que les auteurs dont les noms reviennent à tout propos dans la *Préface*, dont Hugo réclame l'autorité à maintes reprises, étaient depuis longtemps les auteurs favoris de Nodier : La Bible, Homère, Dante, Cervantès, Shakespeare, Byron. On pourra dire : mais pour Homère et la Bible, en tout cas, ils sont dans Chateaubriand et Victor Hugo peut les avoir de lui plutôt que de Nodier. La remarque est juste mais je ferai observer à mon tour que ces noms ne se rencontrent pas dans la *Préface* que Victor Hugo publia pour les *Odes et Ballades* de 1822, mais dès la *Préface* de 1824 (c'est-à-dire après qu'il eut fait la connaissance de Nodier) et dans la préface aux *Odes et Ballades* de 1826, ils apparaissent, comme dans la *Préface à Cromwell* : ils deviennent pour ainsi dire une partie de son appareil critique.

Et du reste l'accent dans tout ceci — chez Nodier et dans la *Préface de Cromwell* — est sur Shakespeare. La Bible et Homère, quel que soit leur rôle dans les théories romantiques de nos deux auteurs, ne sont que des représentants d'étapes accomplies dans l'évolution littéraire du monde ; celui qui compte, qui les passionne, c'est Shakespeare, lequel pour Chateaubriand est inférieur à Racine et Corneille. (Voir Ganser : *Beiträge zur Beurteilung des Verhältnisses von Victor Hugo zur Chateaubriand*, Heidelberg, 1900, qui constate également (p. 28) que dans le *Conservateur Littéraire* (I, 356), c'est-à-dire avant qu'il eût subi l'influence de Nodier, Victor Hugo fut de l'avis de Chateaubriand, ayant écrit : « Les pièces de Shakespeare et de Schiller ne diffèrent des pièces de Corneille et de Racine qu'en ce qu'elles sont plus défectueuses ».

Enfin, le vrai but de cette partie de mon travail, c'est d'établir que quelques-unes des *idées* fondamentales de la *Préface* se trouvaient déjà dans l'œuvre critique de Nodier. En comparant la *Préface* avec cette œuvre critique de Nodier, on a comme l'impression que certaines idées pressenties par Nodier devaient attendre l'avènement de Victor Hugo pour trouver leur formule définitive. Il faut chercher alors le fond de la pensée de chacun d'eux.

I. — *La théorie des trois époques.*

Toute la première partie de la *Préface* est consacrée à la théorie des « trois époques » en littérature qui correspondent aux trois étapes de la civilisation : *La Bible* est l'œuvre caractéristique des temps primitifs qui sont lyriques ; *Homère* des temps héroïques qui sont épiques ; *Shakespeare* des temps modernes qui sont dramatiques. Ce sont trois noms auxquels Nodier s'est intéressé dès son cours de Dôle ¹, et cette théorie n'est en somme qu'une application spéciale de l'idée que « la littérature est l'expression de la société ». Or, si Nodier n'est pas l'inventeur de la phrase que la littérature est l'expression de la Société (il l'attribue à Bonald) ², c'est une idée sur laquelle il insiste d'un bout à l'autre de son œuvre et il en fait la pierre de l'angle de toute sa critique puisque c'est en son nom qu'il explique et justifie l'avènement du romantisme.

Etablissons bien ce point par des textes :

Débats, 4 mars 1814 : Cours de littérature de Schlegel : « M. Schlegel établit que toutes les nations ne s'étant pas trouvées dans les mêmes circonstances, leurs littératures n'ont pas pu avoir le même caractère, que de grandes révolutions

1. Voir chapitre I.

2. *La Quotidienne*, 22 décembre 1825. Un corollaire de cette idée : l'épopée n'est pas un genre moderne, a déjà été traité et nous avons vu que Nodier s'en était occupé avant Hugo.

politiques, etc... ont dû *imprimer* à leur esprit des physionomies très diverses et qu'il n'est pas étonnant que de tant de genres d'inspirations, il ait résulté par exemple, deux genres de beau dramatique très différents dans leurs moyens mais également admirables. Il n'y a rien à contester là-dedans que ces conséquences. Il est très vrai que de toutes les nations qui ont une littérature, il n'y a qu'un petit nombre qui ait vu se réunir les circonstances nécessaires pour que cette littérature devint classique... Rien ne prouve que cet instant soit arrivé déjà pour les nations de l'Europe qui n'ont pas eu de littérature classique ».

Débats, 14 février 1817, *La Mort de Marie-Antoinette*, par M. de Tercy : « En dernière analyse, il n'est pas douteux qu'il ne se forme en France une nouvelle langue poétique à la suite de tant de grandes révolutions politiques et morales, qui ont changé la face de toutes nos institutions. Il est vrai de dire qu'après un long envahissement de l'Europe qui nous a procuré des conquêtes plus durables que celle de l'épée, celle de l'étude et de l'observation, il se prépare chez nous une littérature composée que l'avenir seul jugera et sur laquelle on ne fonderait aujourd'hui que des conjectures très incertaines ».

La Quotidienne, 21 mai 1821 : « Une littérature classique pourra se renouveler dans les âges de repos et de gloire. Il reste donc vrai que l'espèce de littérature qu'on appelle romantique est l'expression nécessaire des idées et des besoins d'une époque à laquelle les autres époques n'ont rien à envier ».

Les Annales, 1821, *Petit Pierre* : « Rappelons ici le mot tant de fois répété : la littérature est l'expression de la société. Joignons-y cet axiome qui ne paraît pas moins évident : la poésie est l'expression des passions et de la nature ; et convenons que le romantique pourrait bien n'être autre chose que le classique des modernes, c'est-à-dire l'expression de

la société nouvelle qui n'est ni celle des Grecs, ni celle des Romains ».

La Quotidienne, 19 mars 1823 : « L'action réciproque des institutions sur les littératures est à peu près la chose la mieux prouvée qui ait jamais été débattue dans l'histoire expérimentale ».

Journal des Débats, 21 novembre 1823 : « Il ne faut pas s'imaginer qu'on invente une littérature, qu'on improvise une poésie, on la reçoit ; une littérature, une poésie inventées qui n'auraient de rapports avec aucune organisation sociale connue seraient essentiellement absurdes et ne vaudraient pas une critique ».

Préface aux *Méditations poétiques*, 2^e édit., 1824 : « Pendant qu'on agite dans les journaux, dans les brochures, dans les écoles, dans les académies, la prééminence des deux littératures rivales, l'expression de la société actuelle achève de se manifester, et l'on discutera encore que ce renouvellement terminé marquera une nouvelle ère dans l'histoire de l'imagination et du génie ».

II. — *Shakespeare.*

Shakespeare est partout dans la *Préface*. Or, l'année même de la composition de cette dernière, les acteurs anglais avaient eu à Paris un succès fou dans les drames du grand Anglais, et l'intérêt éveillé par eux était sans doute pour quelque chose dans l'enthousiasme de Victor Hugo à son endroit. Cependant ce serait aller trop loin que de soutenir que cet intérêt ne date que de 1827. Victor Hugo lui-même indique le point de départ. On lit dans *Choses vues* (p. 1) : « La première fois que j'ai entendu le nom de Shakespeare, c'est à Reims, de la bouche de Charles Nodier. Ce fut en 1825,

pendant le sacre de Charles X »¹. Le rôle prépondérant que joue Shakespeare dans la *Préface* de 1827 montre combien, pendant ces deux ans, Victor Hugo a dû penser à lui. Etant donnés l'enthousiasme de Nodier pour Shakespeare, et l'intimité entre Hugo et Nodier pendant ces deux ans, il semble bien que la part de Nodier dans le développement des idées de Victor Hugo sur Shakespeare a dû être considérable.

Souriau constate avec beaucoup de justesse que « malgré l'abondance des développements admiratifs consacrés à Shakespeare, les emprunts réels sont maigres et rares ». En effet, si Victor Hugo avait eu une connaissance profonde de Shakespeare comme base de son enthousiasme, cela se serait montré davantage par des citations ou au moins par des allusions un peu précises. Au contraire il y a non seulement un manque frappant de précision, il y a dans les connaissances de Victor Hugo des lacunes qui seraient absolument inconcevables si on voulait lui attribuer un peu de familiarité avec le texte même des drames. Par exemple :

« D'autres, ce me semble, l'ont déjà dit, le drame est un miroir où se refléchit la nature », écrit Hugo (p. 29). Or, dans la *Préface*, il faisait tout son possible pour rattacher ses théories à celles de Shakespeare, mais il ignorait que cette idée,

1. Il ne faut pas croire ceci littéralement. Cf. d'abord l'allusion à Shakespeare du *Conservateur littéraire*, p. 97. Outre cela, M. Gustave Simon (*Les Annales*, 21 janvier 1912. *Le Roman des Fiancés*, p. 48) constate que le 28 décembre (1821), M. Foucher conduisit sa fille Adèle et Victor aux Français. « On donnait *Hamlet*, mais Adèle et Victor s'intéressaient plus à leurs mouvements réciproques, à leurs expressions de physionomie, à la manifestation nouvelle et significative de leurs sentiments qu'à la représentation elle-même. » Nodier fut peut-être le premier que Victor Hugo avait entendu parler de Shakespeare avec enthousiasme. En tout cas le passage semble indiquer que c'était Nodier qui lui révéla pour ainsi dire la grandeur de Shakespeare. Ce passage ne paraît pas dans l'édition définitive de *Choses Vues* de la Librairie Ollendorf (Paris, 1913). L'éditeur annonce : « Nous avons dû retirer de *Choses Vues* (nouvelle série) le récit intitulé *A Rheims*, le mss. portant une indication qui le classe dans les fragments inédits de *William Shakespeare*. »

qui se trouve dans un des passages les plus frappants du plus grand drame de Shakespeare, un passage qui en lui-même est un vrai manifeste d'art dramatique (Voir *Hamlet's Address to the Players* : « *to hold as 'twere the mirror up to nature* ») — il ignorait, dis-je, que cette idée appartient à Shakespeare ¹.

Il semble impossible qu'une personne qui avait lu une fois ce passage — l'image le rend inoubliable — ne se soit pas souvenue de ces mots si frappants, surtout Hugo, qui avait bonne mémoire, qui aimait poser pour érudit et qui cherchait justement ses théories dramatiques chez Shakespeare. Ou est-ce que Hugo avait lu son *Hamlet* dans une traduction qui l'estropiait telle que celles que l'on vendait, selon M. Jusserand, aux représentations des acteurs anglais ? « The public attended the performances with deep emotion ; to assist its understanding of the plays tiny editions of them had been printed containing both the French and English Text : « Théâtre anglais ou collection des pièces anglaises jouées à Paris, publiées avec l'autorisation des directeurs et entièrement conformes à la représentation », but differing greatly from Shakespeare. (Paris at M^{me} Verquès, 1827, in-12^o.) » (Jusserand, *Shakespeare in France*. London, Unwin, 1899, p. 456).

En 1826, dans un *Examen de la Devineresse* (*Bibliothèque dramatique ou Répertoire Universel du Théâtre Français*, 1^{re} série, t. V), Nodier avait écrit : « C'est surtout chez les Athéniens et chez nous qu'elle (la comédie) est inutilement liée à l'histoire anecdotique, qu'elle a représenté, comme un fidèle miroir, les événements propres à chaque époque... » Est-ce que Victor Hugo aurait eu une réminiscence de ce passage tout récent de Nodier sans savoir que celui-ci en avait emprunté l'idée à Shakespeare ?

Une autre allusion à Shakespeare dans la *Préface* est celle-ci : « Tantôt sublime dans Ariel, tantôt grotesque dans Cali-

1. Souriau met en note : « Qui a dit cela ? Je l'ignore ». (S. p. 262.)

ban » (p. 17). Mais non. Ariel n'est pas sublime. Il est gracieux, charmant mais toujours fantastique, un vrai lutin de Nodier. Nodier le connaissait et s'était déjà servi d'Ariel et de Caliban comme base de comparaison, mais avec plus de raison que Victor Hugo. N'est-ce pas cependant que son passage aurait suggéré à Hugo qu'il y avait chez ces deux êtres surnaturels le contraste entre l'âme et le corps qu'il cherchait à trouver partout ? Le voici, le passage de Nodier : « Ce sont d'un côté les frénésies d'Ariel et de l'autre la stupeur farouche de Caliban » (*Smarra* : Préface de la 1^{re} édition, p. 302). Le mot *frénésie* est employé dans le sens d'une imagination exaltée.

Dans la partie de ce travail consacrée à l'œuvre critique de Nodier, j'ai relevé ses allusions à Shakespeare ¹. Il y en a partout, depuis la publication des *Pensées de Shakespeare* jusqu'à la fin. On s'est abondamment convaincu qu'il s'intéressait surtout aux scènes sinistres ou grotesques (celles des fossoyeurs et des sorcières) et aux « êtres intermédiaires ». Ce sont également celles que relève Victor Hugo dans la *Préface*.

III. — *La théorie du grotesque.*

Elle est comme la pierre angulaire de la *Préface*. J'ai constaté le rapprochement qui existe entre l'œuvre de Nodier et l'inspiration fantastique de Victor Hugo ². Or le fantastique joue un grand rôle dans ce fameux « grotesque » de la *Préface* qui « d'une part crée le difforme et l'horrible, de l'autre le comique et le bouffon... (qui) attache autour de la religion mille superstitions originales, autour de la poésie mille imaginations pittoresques. C'est lui qui a semé à pleines mains dans l'air, dans l'eau, dans la terre, dans le feu, ces myriades d'êtres intermédiaires, etc... (p. 10), et « Il imprime surtout

1. Chapitre I.

2. Chapitre II.

son caractère à cette merveilleuse architecture gothique » (p. 13).

C'est Nodier qui avait introduit dans la littérature romantique en France le fantastique et l'horrible. Il s'était fait le théoricien, le défenseur du premier ; il avait pratiqué l'autre sans l'approuver, mais il était bien, à un moment donné, le maître en ces deux genres, et c'était lui qui également introduisait la mode de l'architecture gothique ¹.

La théorie du grotesque de Victor Hugo n'est pas seulement une théorie du mélange du beau et du laid dans le drame. On pourrait à la rigueur soutenir qu'il avait cela de la fréquentation de Shakespeare ou des idées de Schlegel, auxquelles le *Globe* avait prêté son appui ², mais sans Nodier est-ce qu'il aurait mêlé à son idée du grotesque, laid et horrible, l'idée du grotesque fantastique ; et aussi est-ce qu'il aurait accordé à son « grotesque » un rôle aussi important si Nodier ne s'était pas fait le théoricien du fantastique en littérature ?

L'élément peut-être le plus essentiel de la théorie du grotesque, celui sur lequel Victor Hugo insiste avec tant de force, en est le rôle moral — il met en relief le sublime et là serait surtout le trait caractéristique du grotesque moderne. Or ceci non plus ne manquait pas dans le système de Nodier — exprimé avec moins de suite et comme toujours avec moins de force, sans doute, mais enfin exprimé bien réellement : « J'aime le génie habile et flexible qui a fondu les couleurs (il s'agit de Ballanche) de la Bible et les couleurs d'Homère, les peintures énergiques du Dante et de Milton avec les peintures douces et gracieuses de Virgile et du Tasse et jusqu'aux inspirations sauvages d'un druide gaulois ou d'un barde calédonien avec les inspirations les plus régulières de la muse classique ». Et en parlant du rôle du Sphinx dans la pièce (*l'Antigone*), il écrit : « L'histoire d'Edipe le range

1. Chapitre I.

2. Michaud : *Sainte-Beuve avant les Lundis*, p. 96.

dans la même catégorie que l'hydre de Lerne et la chimère de Bellérophon... M. Ballanche qui paraît avoir tourné ses principales méditations vers la partie morale des sujets dont il s'occupe, au contraire, s'est bien gardé de réduire l'intervention du sphinx à une action purement matérielle. C'est quelque chose de vague et de solennel qui tient du rêve et de l'apparition. Le sphinx des anciens n'est qu'un monstre difforme et grossier, dépouillé de tout merveilleux, de toute réalité, qui propose des logogryphes puérides, indignes de l'intelligence du premier âge ; celui d'*Antigone*, au contraire, est un emblème admirable, et ses énigmes graves et mystérieuses comme la vie, contiennent les leçons les plus imposantes pour l'homme ». (L'article des *Mélanges* sur l'*Antigone* de Ballanche.)

C'est la même chose dans un passage de *Jean Sbogar* : « Il est vrai que le mal absolu répugne à la juste idée que nous nous faisons de l'extrême bonté du Créateur et de la perfection de ses ouvrages, mais il l'a cru certainement nécessaire à leur harmonie puisqu'il l'a placé dans tout ce qui est sorti de ses mains à côté du bon et du beau » (p. 106).

Assurément dans ces deux passages, Nodier entrevit déjà la portée morale du grotesque tel que Victor Hugo allait le concevoir ; mais tout en la mentionnant, il n'est pas aussi soucieux de l'approfondir que Victor Hugo. Si on admet comme reproche la critique que Walter Scott faisait à E. T. A. Hoffmann, qu'il traitait le fantastique pour lui-même (Voir note, p. 107), il faut condamner en même temps la pratique habituelle de Nodier.

En général la morale a peu d'importance dans sa conception du fantastique. C'est comme s'il avait donné à Hugo les matériaux de son grotesque et que Hugo en eût fait son application spéciale. Encore une fois Nodier est le parrain, Hugo le filleul. La différence entre les deux c'est que Nodier est préoccupé du monde de la poésie seule ; Hugo, des réalités morales. Il y a ici une différence de tempérament ; Nodier

est artiste et Hugo moraliste de disposition. J'ai tâché de montrer leur parenté non pas leur identité ¹.

1. M. Marcel Breuillac, dans un article de la *Revue d'histoire littéraire* (déjà cité) sur *Hoffmann en France*, s'occupe du fantastique de Nodier. Il est difficile cependant de se retrouver dans la confusion d'idées contradictoires de l'auteur. D'abord il constate que le succès d'Hoffmann en France en 1829, moment de la publication de la première traduction de ses contes, est dû au fait que les « contes d'Hoffmann contiennent un élément que jusqu'alors la France n'avait pas pour ainsi dire connu... le fantastique » (p. 430). Du genre ainsi désigné, ajoute-t-il (p. 438), peu d'œuvres antérieures fournissent des exemples ». Puis après avoir développé cette théorie, voici qu'à la page 448 nous lisons : « Lorsque vers 1830 parurent les œuvres d'Hoffmann, tous les critiques en attribuèrent le succès à la nouveauté du genre... (mais) quoiqu'en aient dit Ampère et Girardin, l'accueil ne fut favorable que parce que les *Phantasiestücke* ne faisaient en somme que présenter au public sous une forme agrandie et embellie une image qui lui était déjà familière », et encore mieux à la page 452 : « Très nombreuses sont les œuvres écrites sous la Restauration appartenant au même genre que les *Phantasiestücke*... Les plus célèbres sont celles de Charles Nodier. Nodier en effet ne fut pas seulement le théoricien du fantastique : il le pratiqua en maints contes et nouvelles ».

Que faut-il conclure sinon que Nodier et Hoffmann étaient chacun le prédécesseur l'un de l'autre dans ce genre ? Quand M. Breuillac tâche de faire une distinction entre le « fantastique » d'Hoffmann et de Nodier, la confusion d'idées est encore pire :

« Le fantastique : Il est difficile d'en donner une définition exacte », écrit-il ; cependant il tâche de surmonter cette difficulté : « Le plus souvent il est peuplé d'apparitions, de sorciers, de diables ; il effraye, il stupéfie. Mais il y a des contes qui sont fantastiques et qui ne font pas peur. En définitive, le fantastique c'est un genre intermédiaire entre le merveilleux proprement dit et le réel ; la vérité s'y mêle à la fiction, les détails de la vie ordinaire y voisinent avec les imaginations les plus surnaturelles ; c'est à la fois le possible et l'impossible, l'explicable et l'inexplicable, et cependant ce n'est ni l'un ni l'autre ». (P. 439).

Ces mots ! Mais continuons : Hoffmann ferait du « fantastique vrai » selon Saint-Marc Girardin, dont M. Breuillac invoque d'abord l'autorité : « le merveilleux à côté de la vie bourgeoise, des fantômes, des sylphes à côté d'étudiants et de boutiquiers » (mais n'est-ce pas parler de Nodier que de parler de fantômes et de sylphes ?) » Il est nécessaire cependant de modifier cette définition » ajoute M. Breuillac, car « pour admettre que le fantastique d'Hoffmann est un *fantastique vrai*, il faut considérer exclusivement certaines nouvelles » (p. 443). Il trouve par exemple dans *l'Elixir du Diable* que « les héros véritables n'ont aucun caractère de réalité ; leurs aventures n'ont rien à faire avec l'observation de la vie quotidienne ; c'est un rêve de poète allemand » (p. 442).

Or nous apprenons un peu plus loin que « le mot de merveilleux vague est celui qui caractérise le mieux les ouvrages de Nodier. L'auteur l'a dit souvent, ils furent écrits dans un état psychique qui est presque celui du rêve. Avec *Smarra* et les démons de la nuit nous sommes transportés dans

En résumé, les trois idées directrices de la *Préface* — la littérature étant l'expression de la société, change à travers les âges ; Shakespeare est le grand nom de la littérature moderne ; le grotesque est le trait caractéristique de celle-ci — sont les préoccupations dominantes de l'œuvre critique tout entière de Nodier ¹.

un milieu bien différent du nôtre, les personnes que l'on y trouve, ce ne sont pas ces étudiants, ces boutiquiers [mais pourquoi M. Breuillac les invoque-t-il ici comme critère définitif, quand il s'est donné la peine de prouver qu'ils ne caractérisaient qu'une partie de l'œuvre d'Hoffmann ? Et pourquoi oublie-t-il le rêve du poète allemand ?] ces fonctionnaires qu'on rencontre dans les contes d'Hoffmann. Ce sont des sorciers, des diables, des fantômes et des spectres. C'est qu'à vrai dire, les génies des deux écrivains étaient entièrement dissemblables » (p. 452-3).

Cependant M. Breuillac admet qu'avec « *Tribby* on se rapproche encore plus des contes d'Hoffmann. Ce sont bien les êtres véritables, vivants, qui l'emportent ; c'est une scène présentée sous un aspect merveilleux mais gardant cependant un caractère de réalité ». (P. 454).

Que faut-il conclure sinon que la distinction à faire entre Nodier et Hoffmann c'est qu'ils ont tous les deux pratiqué à la fois les deux fantastiques ; le vrai et le vague. Et alors à quoi bon ces subtiles distinctions longuement développées ?

Enfin M. Breuillac indique un rapprochement entre le fantastique d'Hoffmann et le « grotesque » de Victor Hugo. Encore une fois il essaie de faire des distinctions : « Jamais le grotesque n'admettra les sorcières, les apparitions, les diables ». Comment réconcilier cela avec certaines idées de la *Préface de Cromwell* qui donne comme exemple du grotesque les « sorcières de Macbeth », les « vampires », les « psylls », les « fées », les « démons des chapiteaux gothiques ». Cependant il y avait une jolie distinction à relever qui était toute indiquée dans une critique que fit Walter Scott sur Hoffmann (*Rev. de Paris*, 1829) et dont M. Breuillac donne un résumé : « On ne pourrait en effet admettre le fantastique traité pour lui-même, pour les plaisirs qu'il cause au lecteur ; pour le rendre intéressant, il faudrait le renfermer dans des limites assez étroites ; il faudrait que le « merveilleux suivît une règle », cette règle serait de ne l'employer que dans un but de moralité ».

Voilà, en effet, ce que ne faisait pas le fantastique d'Hoffmann (ni celui de Nodier) et voilà, en effet, le rôle du grotesque de Victor Hugo — de servir un but de moralité.

1. Un livre intéressant qui a paru tout récemment (quand mon travail touchait à sa fin) — *Les Sources du Merveilleux chez E. T. A. Hoffmann* par M. P. Sucher (Paris, Alcan, 1912) — indique qu'il y aurait peut-être des rapprochements curieux à faire entre, d'une part, quelques-unes des théories littéraires de la *Préface* et, d'autre part, les théories des philosophes allemands tels que les Schelling de la première période et Schubert. Schubert surtout paraît avoir eu une influence considérable sur le romantisme d'Hoffmann, et Hoffmann en a eu une fort sérieuse sur le premier romantisme fran-

La possibilité d'un collaborateur dans la Préface

Le manuscrit de la *Préface* présente un petit problème supplémentaire. « Il nous permet de constater matériellement, écrit M. Souriau, les traces de certaines collaborations que le texte imprimé permet déjà de supposer en toute vraisemblance ». Quant aux auteurs de ces collaborations, je ne serais peut-être pas d'accord avec M. Souriau. Il en relève une cinquantaine, des phrases et des passages entiers, ajoutés en interligne ou en marge, et j'ai trouvé dans le manuscrit des additions que M. Souriau ne signale pas. D'autre part, il y a une difficulté : Comment déterminer ce qui a été ajouté tout de suite au cours de la rédaction et ce qui est addition postérieure ? Il est vrai qu'à simple vue d'œil, l'idée de l'addition après coup semble admissible dans un nombre considérable de cas. Examinons-en quelques-uns.

Les deux allusions directes à Nodier que nous connaissons déjà sont, l'une ajoutée en interligne (« Comme dit Charles Nodier, après l'Ecole d'Athènes, l'Ecole d'Alexandrie », p. 28), l'autre en note (« Cette expression... *Homère bouffon*, est de

çais. Ainsi Schubert avait développé avec complaisance l'idée du dualisme de la nature humaine, c'est-à-dire de la lutte entre l'homme inférieur et l'homme supérieur (p. 120). Il parlait (p. 116) des « deux visages de Janus de notre nature à double sens », de la « polarisation » de notre esprit humain — esprit *UN*, dans l'âge d'or du passé, et destiné à redevenir *UN* dans un âge d'or futur.

Des réminiscences très nettes de ces idées sont relevées par M. Sucher chez Hoffmann ; par exemple dans les contes rapportant des cas de dédoublement de personnalité. Et qu'est-ce au fond tout cela, sinon exprimée en termes qui pensent être profonds et ne sont qu'imprécis, la théorie du sublime et du grotesque de Victor Hugo ? Est-ce que les « trois époques » de la *Préface* de *Cromwell* sont un lointain souvenir des « trois époques » de la philosophie allemande clarifié, réalisé par l'esprit français ?

L'histoire de l'humanité, selon les idées allemandes passe par trois périodes. A l'âge d'innocence (l'âge lyrique de la *Préface*) succède un âge où l'homme est sollicité à la fois par le beau et le laid, le bien et le mal. (L'âge de Shakespeare de la *Préface* est l'âge de la lutte dramatique). Tout arrive enfin à l'équilibre dans un âge d'or à venir, qui produit l'homme

Charles Nodier », etc., p. 394). La première se rapporte à un article récent de Nodier (voir p. 90). Deux hypothèses expliqueraient cette addition : ou bien, Nodier, en lisant ou en entendant lire la *Préface*, aura revendiqué son idée qui est celle du paragraphe tout entier ; ou bien, Hugo, ayant peut-être écrit son paragraphe avant de lire l'article de Nodier, qui est de la fin d'octobre, a voulu bien accorder à Nodier un « mot » qui résumât leur thèse commune.

D'autres de ces additions se trouvent parmi les passages que nous avons déjà remarqués comme inspirés de Nodier :

« Les psyllés, les goules », sont ajoutées en marge, « les aspïoles » en interligne. (S., p. 205.)

« Ainsi le sénat romain délibérera sur le turbot de Domitien ». La phrase est ajoutée en interligne. (S., p. 225.)

Dans d'autres, enfin, si l'on veut admettre que quelqu'un avait après coup suggéré l'addition, Nodier semble bien indiqué.

En parlant du « sublime » de la poésie nouvelle, la phrase : « Il faut qu'il puisse créer un jour Juliette, Desdémona, Ophélia » (S., p. 207), est ajoutée en marge. Ne serait-ce pas, encore une fois, Shakespeare suggéré par Nodier ?

Tout un paragraphe est quelquefois ajouté en marge :

harmonieux (ou *complet* tel que l'est Cromwell, Napoléon, selon la définition de V. Hugo dans la *Préface*).

Le livre de M. Sucher suggère beaucoup de rapprochements à faire entre Nodier et Hoffmann. L'inspiration que l'esprit dévorant de Nodier a dérivée de l'étranger est presque sans limites. Mais ce sujet ne nous appartient plus. Tout ce que je veux dire c'est que le jour où il aura été approfondi, une nouvelle clarté se répandra sur les origines du romantisme français.

Y aurait-il aussi un rapprochement à faire entre les trois époques de la *métaphysique romantique* allemande et les trois époques de Saint-Simon (voir les articles du Dr Georges Dumas, *Revue Philosophique*, 1904 (vol. 57, p. 136-157 et 262-287) qui deviendraient plus tard les trois époques d'Auguste Comte. C'est là un problème au delà de ma compétence. Ce qui est certain, c'est que les trois époques Saint-Simon-Comte sont des époques divisées au point de vue de la théorie de la connaissance (théologique, métaphysique et positiviste) et le rapport sur le développement social n'y est que tout à fait indirectement rattaché ; (ce rapprochement possible m'a été suggéré par M. L. Cons, professeur à Bryn Mawr College).

« Il serait surabondant de faire ressortir davantage cette influence du grotesque dans la troisième civilisation. Tout démontre à l'époque dite *romantique*, son alliance intime et créatrice avec le beau. Il n'y a pas jusqu'aux plus naïves légendes populaires qui n'expliquent quelquefois avec un admirable instinct ce mystère de l'art moderne. L'antiquité n'aurait pas fait la *Belle et la Bête* » (S., p. 212). Est-ce Perrault suggéré par Nodier ?

Une autre addition est la suivante : « Tantôt il (le grotesque) jette du rire, tantôt de l'horreur dans la tragédie. Il fera rencontrer l'apothicaire à Roméo, les trois sorcières à Macbeth, les fossoyeurs à Hamlet » (S., p. 230). Or, Nodier, dans son article sur le *Cours de Schlegel* (*Débats*, 4 mars 1814), montre une préférence pour *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, *Roméo* et *Richard III*.

Enfin ne sera-ce peut-être pas une addition faite pour flatter indirectement celui qui avait été le critique par excellence du romantisme, que ce bout de phrase ajouté en marge : « Mais si par aventure... elles (les idées de la *Préface*) pourraient contribuer à mettre sur la route du vrai ce public dont l'éducation est si avancée et que *tant de remarquables écrits de critique ou d'application, livres ou journaux ont déjà mûri pour l'art...* » (S., p. 313) ? Ce n'est pas une phrase qui révèle la vraie opinion de Victor Hugo sur la critique d'avant lui. (Cf. la fin de la *Préface*, où il exprime son mépris pour elle, sans penser à faire exception même pour l'œuvre de son ami Nodier). Ne peut-on pas croire alors, qu'il ait en vue dans cette addition quelqu'un de spécial et ce serait alors Nodier.

Toute cette question est fort délicate. Quelquefois l'addition ne consiste qu'en quelques mots qui n'ajoutent rien de nouveau à l'idée ; quelquefois c'est tout un long passage qui modifie la pensée ou qui développe ce qui l'a précédé. Il serait impossible et probablement très loin de la vérité d'affirmer que Victor Hugo n'a pas pu ajouter la plupart d'entre elles

simplement en relisant sa *Préface*. Cependant il y en a qui, comme l'a dit M. Souriau, semblent indiquer un nouvel esprit qui travaillait sur ce qu'avait déjà médité l'auteur. Or M. Souriau croit y voir l'influence de Sainte-Beuve. Il cite Nettement (*Histoire de la Littérature française sous la Restauration*, 1853, t. II, p. 396) qui dit que Victor Hugo avait lu la *Préface* dans le petit cénacle de la rue de Vaugirard ¹. Il cite également Bondois « qui, dit-il, a déjà remarqué, mais sans en fournir ses autorités, que Sainte-Beuve avait été un des collaborateurs de la *Préface* » (*Victor Hugo, sa vie et ses œuvres*, p. 156). Bondois non seulement ne fournit pas d'autorités mais c'est plutôt une hypothèse littéraire qu'un fait qu'il exprime, car il se sert non pas du mot « collaborateur » mais « d'inspirateur ».

M. Souriau ne donne pas d'autre appui à sa théorie de la collaboration de Sainte-Beuve. Il ne cherche pas à faire de rapprochement entre les idées de la *Préface* et les idées de Sainte-Beuve ².

Or, d'Amaury Duval dit dans ses *Souvenirs* qu'il avait entendu Victor Hugo causer sa *Préface* à l'Arsenal (S., p. 290), ce qui indique la possibilité d'une contribution orale de Nodier.

J'ai trouvé en effet que plusieurs des additions étaient des souvenirs évidents de Nodier et que d'autres auraient pu être

1. C'est à cette lecture sans doute que David fait allusion dans une lettre à Victor Pavie, 19 nov. 1827 : « Je vois souvent votre ami Hugo... Il vient de nous lire sa *Préface* de *Cromwell* ». Lettre citée par M. Séché : *Cénacle de Joseph Delorme*, II, p. 22).

2. Comme dit M. Michaut (*Sainte-Beuve avant les Lundis*, p. 163), « le Tableau (c'est-à-dire l'œuvre sur laquelle travaillait Sainte-Beuve au moment de la composition de la *Préface*) est l'histoire de la forme littéraire ». Or, la *Préface* en est l'histoire du fond, un sujet plutôt genre Nodier. Il est à noter aussi combien peu le *xvii^e* siècle figure dans la *Préface*. Autre point : Sainte-Beuve, après avoir entendu la lecture du drame de *Cromwell* qui précéda de plusieurs mois la *Préface*, écrivit à Hugo une longue lettre de critique (citée par M. Séché : *Cénacle de Joseph Delorme*, I, p. 83). Pas un des points relevés par Sainte-Beuve n'a été repris dans la *Préface*. Comment donc y voir un rôle joué par lui ?

facilement inspirés par lui, et nous avons constaté l'influence de Nodier sur l'œuvre de Victor Hugo dans toutes les années précédant immédiatement la composition de la *Préface*.

Quant à Sainte-Beuve nous invoquerons l'autorité de M. Séché qui connaît mieux que personne (aujourd'hui) l'époque romantique et qui a approfondi tout particulièrement cette période dans son *Cénacle de Joseph Delorme*. Selon lui, l'influence de Sainte-Beuve n'avait pas encore commencé à se faire sentir dans la *Préface*. Il semble donc légitime de conclure que la *Préface* est la dernière manifestation de cette phase Nodier par laquelle a passé Victor Hugo.

CHAPITRE IV

LES TROIS ESSAIS DE NODIER POSTÉRIEURS A LA PRÉFACE

Il reste à étudier le problème indiqué déjà dans l'Introduction.

Entre décembre 1829 et novembre 1830, Nodier donna à la *Revue de Paris* qui venait d'être fondée, trois *essais* qui renferment des idées tellement identiques avec certaines idées de la *Préface de Cromwell* qu'on se demande pourquoi Nodier voulait les redire. Ces essais sont :

La Nouvelle Ecole littéraire, décembre 1829 ¹.

Les Types en Littérature, septembre 1830 ².

Du Fantastique en Littérature, novembre 1830 ³.

Ils sont à la portée de tout le monde ; nous n'avons donc pas à nous y arrêter longuement. Rappelons que dans le premier c'est surtout l'idée du dualisme des personnages de Shakespeare que relève l'auteur : « mélanges, dit-il, du fantastique et du grotesque ».

Dans le second, il parle des types nouveaux de la littérature moderne par opposition au type abstrait de la beauté que connaît le classicisme, et pour lui les grands types modernes par excellence sont ceux de Dante, de Shakespeare, ceux qui ont tous un élément du grotesque, c'est-à-dire où le concret (qui mêle les éléments supérieurs et inférieurs) se substitue à l'abstrait.

Mais c'est dans le dernier, l'Essai sur le *Fantastique* que le

1. Réimprimé dans le vol. *Nouvelles*, pp. 54-63.

2. Réimprimé dans le vol. *Romans*, pp. 5-16.

3. Réimprimé dans le vol. *Contes fantastiques*, pp. 5-30.

parallèle avec la *Préface* est le plus frappant. Nodier y esquisse le progrès du fantastique à travers les âges, comme Hugo l'a fait pour le grotesque. C'est le fantastique, selon lui, qui a donné aux poètes leur inspiration la plus élevée. Ainsi les grands génies modernes, Dante et surtout Shakespeare, sont des génies fantastiques. Or ce « fantastique » de Nodier est en somme le grotesque de Victor Hugo ; quoique Nodier en souligne plutôt le côté pittoresque et féerique, tandis que Victor Hugo s'occupe davantage du difforme et du moral.

L'*Essai* est presque une récapitulation des idées de la *Préface*, mais Nodier avait bien le droit de s'en servir après Hugo. Elles lui avaient appartenu d'abord.

On pourrait se demander pourquoi les contemporains, amis et critiques, n'ont pas signalé la ressemblance entre la *Préface* et les *Essais* de Nodier. D'abord, s'ils l'avaient remarquée, ils auraient bien pu dire : A quoi bon en parler ? Le style de la *Préface* est éblouissant ; personne après l'avoir lu ne veut s'occuper d'autres efforts moins réussis. En second lieu, les *Essais* de Nodier paraissant dans une revue, les critiques, dont le devoir est de rendre compte plutôt de livres, n'avaient guère l'occasion d'en parler dans leurs articles. Enfin, une période de presque deux ans s'était écoulée depuis la publication de la *Préface* quand le premier des *Essais* parut. On parlait de plus en plus de Victor Hugo, mais on avait passé de la théorie à la pratique ; on discutait *Hernani* et non pas la *Préface*.

Mais quelle fut donc l'attitude de Nodier vis-à-vis de la *Préface* ? Observons d'abord que Nodier, le critique, avait gardé un silence complet au sujet du *Cromwell* et de la *Préface*¹. Ce silence n'est-il pas surprenant quand on pense à la

1. Est-ce une allusion tardive à la *Préface* de *Cromwell* que cette phrase dans les *Préliminaires* à l'édition de 1832 de *Jean Sbogar* ? « Je crois avoir dit quelque part qu'une préface était un ouvrage d'orgueil, je le répète volontiers. Orgueil innocent du reste et presque digne d'une tendre compas-

série d'articles qu'il avait consacrés aux œuvres de Victor Hugo depuis le compte rendu de *Han d'Islande* ? Il arrive enfin, le grand manifeste de cette école que lui, Nodier, a presque créée, et il se tait, quand tout le monde parle. Et voici qui est plus curieux encore. Dans un article ¹ de la *Quotidienne* sur Byron et Moore (1^{er} novembre 1829), il lance contre les *Orientales* une critique assez aigre, surtout de la part d'un homme aussi bienveillant en général et bienveillant particulièrement pour Victor Hugo ².

« A la vérité, écrivit-il, nos orientalistes s'ils ont produit quelque chose n'ont rien encore produit qui approchât des admirables compositions de ces beaux génies (i. e. Byron et Moore), mais il faut avouer que l'influence de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres est un peu moins sentie, un peu moins populaire, un peu moins nationale que celle de la Compagnie des Indes. Et, d'ailleurs, jusqu'à quel point la

sion, que celui qui se fonde sur le bruit d'un petit livre et qui dure tout juste le temps de l'escorter du magasin sous le pilon en attendant qu'il subisse une nouvelle métamorphose dans le monde du cartonnier » (p. 82). Si on se moque de préfaces en général, même aussi tard que 1832, peut-on le faire sans penser à la Grande Préface Manifeste qui était devenue la Bible de l'Ecole romantique ?

1. Réimprimé comme préface à *Lord Byron et Thomas Moore*, poésies traduites par M. A. Pichot, M^{lle} Belloc, M. E. Henrion, avec une notice de Charles Nodier. Paris, 28, rue Féron, 1830, in-18.

2. Est-ce bien là l'homme que M. Marsan évoque — j'allais dire exécute — sommairement dans un paragraphe du long chapitre sur l'*Unité Romantique et le Cénacle* (*La Bataille romantique*, pp. 163-219). La figure de Nodier y est du reste gracieusement esquissée :

« Son appartement (celui de Hugo) est le quartier général de l'école (nous sommes en 1828). Non pas que les soirées de l'Arsenal aient été abandonnées. On se presse toujours aux dimanches de Nodier, mais c'est là un terrain neutre où peuvent se rencontrer des gens d'opinions très diverses. Le maître du logis est un écrivain déjà vieilli [il n'avait que 48 ans] à demi classique de goûts, d'une inaltérable bonne grâce, indulgent à la nouveauté, mais peu capable d'exaltation, comptant au nombre de ses familiers quelques-uns des partisans les plus déterminés de la tradition, estimant du reste qu'il n'est pas de théorie d'art à quoi il vaille la peine de sacrifier une amitié ».

Mais le rôle de Nodier a consisté en autre chose qu'à passer en simple amateur au milieu des lutteurs romantiques et il est temps de renoncer à ces portraits traditionnels mais faussés.

poésie a-t-elle le droit en France d'emprunter des couleurs à un sol qui n'est pas soumis à notre cadastre, à une nature hors des barrières, qui n'est même pas enclavée dans notre circonscription géographique ? Où est l'ordonnance qui permet l'importation de la pensée et qui affranchit l'imagination des prohibitions de la douane ».

L'article fut lu par Hugo qui se reconnut dans l'allusion de Nodier et le lendemain il lui adressa cette lettre si diplomatiquement sentimentale : « Et vous aussi, Charles ! Je voudrais pour beaucoup n'avoir pas lu la *Quotidienne* d'hier, car c'est une des plus violentes secousses de la vie que celle qui déracine du cœur une vieille et profonde amitié... Peu à peu, du silence et de l'indifférence pour moi, je vous ai vu passer à l'éloge, à l'enthousiasme, à l'acclamation pour mes ennemis... Et quel moment avez-vous pris pour tout cela ? Celui où mes ennemis raillent de toutes parts... où je suis placé entre deux animosités également furieuses, le pouvoir qui me persécute et cette cabale déterminée qui a pris poste dans presque tous les journaux... Ce n'est pas que je réclame contre votre critique. Elle est juste, serrée et vraie. Il y a singulièrement loin des *Orientales* à Lord Byron ! Mais, Charles, n'y avait-il pas assez d'ennemis pour le dire en ce moment. Vous vous étonnerez sans doute, vous me trouverez bien susceptible. Que voulez-vous ? une amitié comme la mienne pour vous est franche, cordiale, profonde, et ne se brise pas sans cri et sans douleur. Après tout, je ne vous en veux pas, déchirez cette lettre et n'y pensez plus. Ce que vous avez voulu rompre est rompu... jamais vous n'avez perdu d'ami plus profondément et plus tendrement et plus absolument dévoué. VICTOR ». (*Correspondance de Victor Hugo*, t. I, p. 83) ¹.

1. Il serait intéressant de savoir à quel moment parut le volume de poésies avec la préface de Nodier. Était-il sous presse au moment de l'apparition de l'article de la *Quotidienne* et de la composition de la lettre d'Hugo, ou est-ce que Nodier l'aurait fait imprimer après avoir appris que V. Hugo

Est-ce sous l'influence de cette brouille que Nodier fut amené quelques semaines après à commencer la série d'essais dans laquelle il reprit les idées de la *Préface de Cromwell*, chose qu'il n'avait pas faite au moment de son apparition ? Est-ce qu'il s'est décidé enfin à revendiquer ce qui lui appartenait ?

Les *Orientales* n'étaient pas, bien entendu, du goût de Nodier. Dans une de ses critiques postérieures, celle des *Feuilles d'Automne*, il constate sa joie de voir que Victor Hugo revenait à une inspiration plus purement poétique. « Et qu'est-ce qu'a fait Victor Hugo en nous ouvrant cette nouvelle mine de poésie qu'il épuise en passant ? Vous ne l'y verrez plus couché à l'abri de la tente des pachas, errant avec le Klephte du désert sur les flancs de la montagne, fumant de la poudre et du sang des batailles au milieu des escadrons ou remuant d'une main téméraire le bronze encore bouillant de la Colonne. Vous l'y verrez dans l'intérieur d'un ménage riant, pressé d'un cercle d'artistes et de poètes, qui l'embrassent comme une riche ceinture, livré, comme nous, aux simples penchants d'une âme simple. Vous l'y avez attendu peut-être à son retour des mondes qu'il vient de parcourir. — Et moi aussi » (*Bull. du Bib.*, 1863, cité comme publié, 11 décembre 1831). Mais cette attaque des *Orientales* moqueuse et à moitié voilée, n'est pas une simple critique défavorable. Elle est vraiment très peu aimable, et il faut en chercher l'explication dans l'histoire des relations Hugo-Nodier jusqu'alors si amicales.

Victor Hugo, vers 1828, espaçait ses visites à l'Arsenal. Le deuxième cénacle se formait. Hugo attirait chez lui le monde

avait été vivement blessé ? Le volume porte la date de 1829. Il ne paraît pas dans la *Bibliographie de la France* de cette année ni de l'année suivante. M. Léon Séché a eu la bonté de demander pour moi au bibliothécaire de la Bibliothèque Nationale ce qu'il en pensait. La réponse a été que le volume avait dû paraître au commencement de l'année 1830. (Il appartient à une collection, *Bibliothèque choisie par une Société de Gens de lettres* sous la direction de Laurentie et qui a cinq livraisons par volume).

qui depuis 1824 courait aux dimanches de l'Arsenal. Sainte-Beuve remplaçait Nodier ¹. En 1829 parurent les *Orientales*, un travail de technique à la Sainte-Beuve. (Cf. les *Poésies de Joseph Delorme*.)

Nodier n'y comprenait rien. Il croyait voir Hugo perdu pour le romantisme tel que lui Nodier le concevait. Il avait sans doute été fier de voir ses idées adoptées dans les *Ballades*, dans *Han d'Islande* et *Bug Jargal*, de voir ses enthousiasmes repris par le jeune poète. Mais Hugo jusqu'alors, avait franchement avoué ce qu'il devait à Nodier, (Voir les notes aux *Ballades* et la *Préface* à la seconde édition de *Han d'Islande*) et il avait proclamé son admiration pour Nodier. *Cromwell* a dû être le premier coup que reçût l'amour-propre de celui-ci ; Nodier y voyait exposées ses propres idées avec à peine ici et là dans quelqu'alinéa obscur, une fuyante allusion à son nom : lui qui avait été le critique des débuts du romantisme, était obligé de lire que la critique antérieure à la *Préface* ne valait rien et qu'on attendait une nouvelle critique. Ensuite il voyait tout le monde s'occuper de cette théorie du grotesque qui depuis tant d'années avait été la sienne. Outre cela, s'il fut un mot dans la *Préface* qui avait du succès plus que tous les autres, c'était l'« Homère Bouffon » ² mais Hugo ne l'avait accordé à Nodier que dans une note qui n'attirait pas assez l'attention des lecteurs pour qu'ils se rendissent compte que ce n'était pas de Victor Hugo, et que derrière l'inventeur du mot il pouvait bien y avoir l'inventeur de toute la théorie.

Toutes ces choses auraient pu refroidir les sentiments de Nodier envers Hugo sans qu'il eût dit mot, mais quand il vit que Victor Hugo lui tournait le dos, pour ainsi dire, pour s'inspirer des idées d'un autre, il ne put retenir sa plume et dans un moment d'humeur fort compréhensible, il écrivit la

1. Séché, *Cénacle de Joseph Delorme*.

2. Cité dans les articles de la *Revue Encyclopédique* et des *Débats* comme un des mots frappants de la préface.

critique amère qu'on trouve dans l'article sur Byron et Moore. Puis, après la lettre de Victor Hugo, quand les relations étaient devenues évidemment plus tendues encore, il se décida à commencer les trois essais dans lesquels, tandis qu'il réclamait son bien, il protestait contre les extravagances récentes de la nouvelle école¹, et réaffirmait son point de vue.

Sans l'éloignement graduel de Victor Hugo de l'Arsenal, sans le nouvel enthousiasme pour Sainte-Beuve qui s'exprima dans le nouveau genre des *Orientales*, Nodier, qui était la générosité même quand il s'agissait de ses connaissances et de ses idées, n'aurait jamais réclamé d'une façon si nette celles dont Victor Hugo s'était servi. Il est à noter justement qu'il ne l'a pas fait, du moins publiquement, au moment de l'apparition de la *Préface*, quoiqu'il ait pu être blessé du manque d'égard de Hugo.

Un document des plus curieux vient à l'appui de mon hypothèse à savoir que la *Préface de Cromwell* a pu contribuer au froid qui se produisit entre Hugo et Nodier. Paul Lacroix « le Bibliophile Jacob », publia en 1862 dans le *Bulletin du Bibliophile*, un article intitulé : *Charles Nodier et le genre romantique*²

1. Nodier sentit le besoin de réclamer son bien contre Hugo non seulement à l'époque des *Essais*, mais même plus tard, voir la *Préface* nouvelle de *Smarra* (1832) où il fait la chose du reste de la façon la plus généreuse : « Je m'avisai un jour que la voie du fantastique prise au sérieux serait tout à fait nouvelle... Ce que je cherchais, plusieurs hommes l'ont trouvé depuis : Walter Scott et V. Hugo... » (P. 294).

2. Il y a maints témoignages pour prouver que Lacroix était à même de savoir de quoi il parlait. Dumas, dans ses *Mémoires*, le nomme comme un des bibliophiles les plus intimes chez Nodier. Barbier, *Souvenirs personnels*, 1883, p. 357, écrit : « C'est en 1829, rue Notre-Dame-des-Champs, chez M. Victor Hugo que je vis pour la première fois le Comte de Vigny. Le poète faisait lui-même une lecture de son drame d'*Hernani*. [La lecture eut lieu le 1^{er} octobre, (*V. H. Raconté*, III, p. 110). M. Paul Lacroix, invité à la soirée, m'emmena avec lui et m'introduisit au milieu du cénacle ». Lacroix était donc là et pouvait observer les membres du cénacle au moment juste qui nous intéresse.

Dans un autre article du *Bulletin du Bibliophile* (1868), Lacroix reparle de Nodier : « Je n'ai connu Ch. Nodier qu'en 1829 et je le répète il ne m'a permis de le connaître autant que je l'eusse souhaité ; nos relations ne sor-

dans lequel se trouve le passage suivant : « Nous croyons savoir que Charles Nodier... fut très étonné et un peu blessé de ne pas se voir proclamé au nombre des trois chefs littéraires que le cénacle romantique s'était donnés. Il avait, il est vrai, eu l'air de décliner cet honneur lorsque ses amis l'avaient consulté à ce sujet ; il avait dit qu'il ne se réservait que le rôle de trompette qui sonne la charge et qui annonce la victoire. La fameuse *Préface de Cromwell* de M. Victor Hugo dans laquelle l'auteur du drame élevait à ses côtés sur le pavois MM. de Vigny et Emile Deschamps ¹, rattacha indirectement

taient pas du domaine de la bibliographie... J'ai voulu plus d'une fois l'interroger sur des circonstances de sa vie littéraire, sur quelques-uns de ses contemporains et amis : il répondait vaguement ou ne répondait pas ». Nodier silencieux ? Non sans cause. Il ne voulait pas parler d'une brouille avec Victor Hugo.

1. On peut se demander comment Lacroix trouve que V. Hugo dans la *Préface*, « éleva à ses côtés sur le pavois Vigny et Emile Deschamps », car Vigny n'est pas même mentionné. Il ne faut pas oublier que Lacroix écrivait trente ans après. Il est possible qu'il ne se soit pas donné la peine de relire la *Préface*, et se fiant à sa mémoire, se soit rappelé le succès de l'*Othello* de Vigny d'une part, le manifeste shakespearien de la *Préface*, et d'autre part, il aura pensé à Hugo et à Vigny comme aux deux défenseurs de Shakespeare, sans se renseigner pour les dates exactes des deux ouvrages (car *Othello* est postérieur à la *Préface*) ; il aura pensé que V. Hugo, en glorifiant Shakespeare, avait en même temps glorifié son traducteur comme il le faisait du reste dans la note flatteuse consacrée à Emile Deschamps : « M. Emile Deschamps reproduit en ce moment pour notre théâtre *Roméo et Juliette*, et telle est la souplesse puissante de son talent qu'il fait passer tout Shakespeare dans ses vers, comme il y a déjà fait passer tout Horace. Certes ceci est aussi un travail d'artiste et de poète, un labeur qui n'exclut ni l'originalité, ni la vie, ni la création. C'est de cette façon que les psalmistes ont traduit Job » (p. 395).

Ou est-ce que Lacroix garde tout simplement dans sa mémoire cette phrase du *Tableau de Sainte-Beuve* ? (1^{re} édit., 1828, I, p. 78). « Cet alexandrien est le même que la jeune école de poésie affectionne et cultive et que tout récemment Victor Hugo par son *Cromwell*, Emile Deschamps et Alfred de Vigny par leur traduction de *Roméo et Juliette*, ont introduit dans le style dramatique ».

Il est évident que Hugo est beaucoup plus flatteur pour Deschamps que pour Nodier, qu'il ne mentionne qu'en passant, et il est facile de voir que toute cette partie de la *Préface*, qui s'occupe de la critique et de l'Ecole de Soumet et de Guiraud, les amis de Nodier, rattachait « celui-ci indirectement au parti classique ».

Une phrase de Rémusat dans la *Revue Française* de janvier 1829 (citée

Nodier au parti classique... La *Préface* jeta quelque froideur dans les habitudes de cette amitié et depuis lors, c'est-à-dire depuis 1829, Ch. Nodier se souvient qu'il n'avait pas mis tous ses dieux sur le navire qui portait le romantisme et sa fortune ».

D'autres témoignages confirment moins directement la constatation de Lacroix.

Le docteur Véron, fondateur de la *Revue de Paris*, écrit dans ses *Mémoires d'un bourgeois de Paris* : « Victor Hugo par la composition de son *Cromwell* affichait des ambitions dramatiques futures et par la préface de ce drame, il plantait tardivement son drapeau. Ses théories jetaient quelque trouble et des principes de désordre dans le monde jusqu'alors si uni des jeunes poètes romantiques et religieux. Il était impossible en effet à MM. Souriau, Guiraud, Ancelot, dont les œuvres avaient réussi avec les formes de l'ancienne tragédie française légèrement renouvelées, d'accepter un programme si étendu et de brûler subitement ce qu'ils avaient adoré. Sans qu'il y eût précisément de divorce avoué ni d'éclat, tout en conservant les apparences de l'union et de la camaraderie, il se trouvait donc que ce jeune monde littéraire se divisait en réalité par le fond : il s'y préparait un renouvellement de tentatives et un second mouvement littéraire dont M. Victor Hugo allait devenir l'inspirateur convaincu et le chef ambitieux ». Si *Cromwell* jetait quelque trouble, Sainte-Beuve était là pour encourager la rupture. « On continua de se voir isolément et de s'aimer à distance », écrit-il du cénacle de la *Muse Française* après lui avoir fait la critique moqueuse que nous avons citée ¹.

par M. Marsan : *La Bataille romantique*, p. 178, note, n'a pas dû précisément contribuer à guérir l'amour-propre déjà blessé de Nodier, le critique, si elle lui est tombée sous les yeux : « Un nœud plus étroit qu'on ne pense rattache aux œuvres poétiques de M. V. Hugo les recherches de critique et d'histoire de M. Sainte-Beuve. L'un est en effet le critique de l'école dont l'autre est le chef ».

1. Chap. II (p. 76).

Que la brouille n'a jamais été ouverte, pas même comme rancune littéraire, cela est indiqué par ce passage flatteur pour Victor Hugo qui se trouve dans l'essai des *Types en Littérature* de la *Revue de Paris* et de l'édition des *Œuvres* de Nodier publiée par Renduel, 1832 ¹ : « Victor Hugo, un de ces génies les plus originalement inventeurs qui aient apparu à aucune des époques de la littérature, a jeté dans ses hardis romans deux types extraordinaires, sans analogues existants, comme sans modèles imaginés : l'antropophage et l'obi. Ce ne sont pas là sans doute des créatures rationnelles, des signalements pris sur le vif. Ce sont des monstres si l'on veut, mais ce sont des types et sous la plume d'un grand écrivain, tous les types deviennent des existences ». Et notez qu'ici Victor Hugo est loué pour des idées que lui avait prêtées Nodier ; en d'autres termes, Nodier vante chez Hugo ses propres idées. C'avait été une des plus grandes gloires de Nodier d'être l'ami, le guide, en un sens, des grands et jeunes poètes qui l'entouraient. Il ne voulait pas la perdre, cette gloire. C'est en partie à un désir de la garder, au moins devant le public, que j'attribuerais ce passage à la louange de Victor Hugo.

Une lettre adressée à Lamartine le 27 mars 1829 ² indiquerait la même petite faiblesse, si on peut l'appeler ainsi. Nodier lui écrivait à propos de la nouvelle *Revue de Paris* qui lui avait demandé sa collaboration : « Je vous prie de croire qu'il n'y a là personne de plus obscur que moi, qui n'y ai peut-être été appelé que parce qu'on suppose que j'exerce quelque influence d'amitié sur vous, sur M. de Chateaubriand, sur Victor Hugo ».

En terminant, je cite une seconde lettre du 11 janvier 1830 également adressée à Lamartine ³, qui révèle d'une façon beaucoup plus intime l'attitude de Nodier envers Victor Hugo. Notons que cette lettre est postérieure d'un mois au premier

1. Ce passage manque à l'*Essai* tel que l'édition Charpentier l'a réimprimé.

2. *Lettres à Lamartine*, Calmann-Lévy, 1892, p. 62.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 93.

des *Essais*, et de deux mois à la petite querelle à propos des *Orientales* et il sera aisé de deviner dans ces lignes de Nodier la lutte entre la générosité de l'ami et le secret dépit du critique :

« On attend *Hernani* qui fera certainement plus de bruit, mais dont la cabale a déjà préparé la chute dans ses vaudevilles et dans ses journaux. C'est une pièce faite d'ailleurs tout entière dans le système de Victor, et dans laquelle ses théories sont portées suivant son usage, à leur dernière expression de témérité. Mon amitié pour lui me ferait déplorer le hasardeux courage avec lequel il se livre, au péril de son repos et de son bonheur, à toutes les chances d'une publicité orageuse, qui cette fois menace de prendre l'aspect d'une petite guerre civile. Quelle que soit la force de son âme, il est difficile d'ailleurs que son caractère ne s'aiguise point dans cette polémique en action où la haine des partis passe si aisément de l'ouvrage à l'homme. Heureux le poète qui peut jouir comme vous de ses inspirations sans être obligé d'en faire un chant de combat. Je vous dis tout cela parce que c'est une des amères sollicitudes de mon cœur et que mon cœur n'a jamais plus besoin de s'ouvrir qu'avec vous. Je l'aurais dit à Victor lui-même si une sérieuse amitié avait aujourd'hui sur lui le même empire qu'il y a dix ans ; mais quand à vingt-sept ans on a fait secte, il est bien rare qu'on puisse se rendre encore aux froides représentations de la raison. L'enthousiasme de ses jeunes admirateurs doit produire sur lui l'effet des chants de la sirène. C'est un des plus doux prestiges de la gloire. Puisse l'avenir lui épargner des tribulations ».

CONCLUSION

Et maintenant qu'on me permette d'ajouter un mot sur les résultats de l'examen que j'avais annoncés dans la préface.

Je me suis efforcée de mettre en lumière, avec documents précis à l'appui, l'œuvre critique de Nodier. Peut-être le lecteur sera-t-il d'accord avec moi, après avoir parcouru ces pages, pour affirmer que les savants qui se sont occupés de Nodier se sont rendu la tâche trop facile. Ils ont répété tout simplement, les uns après les autres : « L'action critique de Nodier a été surtout orale ; il était brillant et spirituel causeur ». Tout au plus quelques-uns, ont-ils bien voulu examiner les essais réunis un peu au hasard dans le volume des *Mélanges*, ou les pages placées en préfaces aux éditions modernes de ses œuvres. On ne trouve rien de plus chez M. Salomon ni chez M. Souriau. Il y avait donc là une lacune à combler.

Dans cet examen de l'œuvre de Nodier, il était tout indiqué de souligner, comme du plus essentiel intérêt, la part qu'on peut lui attribuer dans la formation des idées de Victor Hugo au temps des œuvres de jeunesse (poésies et romans), et jusqu'à l'époque importante de la *Préface de Cromwell*. La critique ayant déjà signalé très souvent la part de Nodier dans l'inspiration des *Ballades*, on se serait attendu à ce que la grande édition Ollendorff fit allusion à Nodier dans les notes aux *Odes et Ballades* (Paris, 1912). Il n'est pas question de Nodier, ni dans ce volume, qui contient également les *Orientales*, ni dans *Han d'Islande* et *Bug*

Jargal (Paris, 1910), ni — et en ce cas l'omission n'est pas étonnante, car on n'a jamais, que je sache, pensé à établir une comparaison entre l'œuvre de Nodier et les idées fondamentales de la *Préface de Cromwell* — dans le *Cromwell* (Paris, 1912) de cette même édition.

Si l'on admet que nos rapprochements sont concluants, on s'étonnera encore plus de voir omettre le nom de Nodier dans cette édition monumentale.

En ce qui concerne les rapprochements entre la *Préface* et les trois *Essais* de Nodier, *La nouvelle école littéraire*, *Les types en littérature*, et *Le fantastique en littérature*, une conclusion me paraît en jaillir : l'auteur de la *Préface* n'a pas subi seulement l'influence de Chateaubriand ¹ et celle de Sainte-Beuve ². Entre les deux phases caractérisées par l'influence de ces deux hommes, il a eu sa phase Nodier. Dégager cette phase, l'étudier, en montrer l'importance dans l'évolution de la pensée et de l'œuvre, de Victor-Hugo, c'est là ce que j'ai voulu faire avant tout. On me permettra bien, pour souligner ce point, de citer ici un passage du tout récent livre de M. Marsan (*La Bataille Romantique*). L'auteur signale nettement la difficulté d'expliquer le « grotesque » du drame de Victor Hugo par Stendhal — car pour M. Marsan, c'est là que se trouveraient surtout les sources du théâtre romantique. « Mais juxtaposer de parti-pris le type grotesque et le type sublime, en accuser le contraste, joindre aux déformations épiques les déformations du burlesque et faire de cette antithèse le fondement d'une esthétique, ce n'est pas se rapprocher de la nature, c'est la fausser doublement, en grandeur et en bassesse. Après avoir dit : « C'est surtout la poésie lyrique qui sied au drame », Hugo peut-il écrire encore : « Le drame vit du réel ?... En vérité

1. Voir Ganser : *Beitrag zur Beurteilung des Verhältnisse von Victor Hugo zu Chateaubriand*.

2. Voir le récent *Cénacle* de Joseph Delorme de M. Léon Séché.

nous sommes déjà très loin du théâtre réaliste qu'attendaient les disciples de Stendhal et même du théâtre historique ». (page 150).

Or le « grotesque » ne saurait ainsi être ignoré. Il est dans le drame romantique tel que Victor Hugo l'a conçu, surtout tel qu'il l'a exposé lui-même dans la *Préface de Cromwell*. Ne pas l'expliquer, c'est donc manquer l'explication de l'essentiel ; de fait Marsan pose dans ce passage un grand problème qu'il avoue en autant de mots n'avoir pu résoudre et il se trouve que précisément nous avons donné les éléments de la réponse à ce problème (Voir pp. 103-107).

Il est évident que la possibilité d'une influence ici de la part de Nodier ne s'est pas présentée à l'esprit de M. Marsan. Une brochure, postérieure même à son livre (*Notes sur Charles Nodier, Documents inédits*, Toulouse, 1912), révèle son attitude générale vis-à-vis de Nodier. Au milieu d'une collection hétérogène, et du reste très intéressante de lettres inédites de Nodier, il consacre quelques pages au romantisme de celui-ci et à son influence littéraire. « Romantique, Nodier l'est fort peu », écrit M. Marsan (p. 14), et il donne comme preuve une citation de la préface de *Bertram ou le Château de Saint-Aldobrand* (1821) dans laquelle Nodier parle du « genre souvent ridicule et quelquefois révoltant qu'on appelle en France romantique ». Or, nous avons vu dans notre analyse de ce même passage que c'était le genre *frénétique* tout simplement qu'il y visait, que c'était une petite lubie de sa critique de condamner ce genre qu'il pratiquait lui-même, et qu'à cette même époque, exception faite du genre frénétique, il admirait franchement les manifestations littéraires du romantisme. (Voir pp. 52-55). Comment M. Marsan ne se rendant pas compte de cette nuance, expliquerait-il la satisfaction qu'exprime Nodier lorsque, « en 1822, le libraire Audin le cite au nombre des maîtres de la jeune école », car c'est bien de la satisfaction qu'il exprime à côté de sa « surprise » modeste (p. 15). S'il n'était pas romantique, pourquoi a-t-il été chef

de l'école ? C'est beaucoup trop facile de dire avec M. Marsan : Parce qu'un critique l'a nommé ainsi.

« Il serait difficile cependant, écrit M. Marsan, de préciser son influence ou son rôle littéraire. Sa collaboration au premier volume de la *Muse Française* se réduit à peu de choses » (p. 20). Mais pourquoi M. Marsan se borne-t-il à la *Muse Française* ? Pourquoi ne pas examiner les articles de Nodier dans d'autres journaux, beaucoup plus importants en ce qu'ils étaient lus, comme la *Muse* ne l'était guère, par ceux qui n'avaient pas encore accepté les idées de la nouvelle école, de laquelle Nodier devint ainsi l'apôtre auprès des classiques. « Même au temps où il semble pleinement gagné aux doctrines de l'école, il est plutôt un témoin bienveillant qu'un compagnon de lutte », continue M. Marsan (p. 20). Est-ce juste envers l'homme qui a le premier bataillé contre la *Bande Noire*, qui a été un vrai précurseur du romantisme à venir dans ses *Voyages Pittoresques*, qui, parmi les premiers, a admiré les littératures romantiques étrangères, qui a donné l'appoint d'un énorme travail critique aux jeunes auteurs de la nouvelle école française, qui a fourni des idées sur lesquelles allait se baser le grand manifeste de l'école, et qui enfin, a créé des modèles dans deux genres purement romantiques : le frénétique et le fantastique. Et si on se rapporte aux pages qui précèdent, on aura pu voir qu'après tout, il savait, au besoin, même contre son ami Hugo, défendre la priorité de ses idées.

Non, Nodier n'était pas un simple « témoin bienveillant », et s'il est « difficile de préciser son influence ou son rôle littéraire », ce n'est pas cependant impossible. Ce travail y contribuera peut-être.



APPENDICE

ARTICLES DE NODIER

PUBLIÉS DANS LES JOURNAUX ET LES REVUES
ENTRE 1813 ET 1827 ¹

ABRÉVIATIONS. — F. D. : Feuilleton Dramatique.

Mél. : Article qui se trouve dans le volume *Mélanges de littérature et de critique*.

Journal des Débats

1813

29 novembre. Une Séance de l'Athénée.

7 décembre. Fables de La Fontaine (Mél.).

13 décembre. Cours d'A. Martin.

20 décembre. Suite.

30 décembre. Millevoie (Mél.).

1814

8 janvier. Cours d'A. Martin.

19 janvier. Millevoie, II.

4 février. Littérature slave (Mél.).

15 février. Cours d'A. Martin.

16 février. Des Erreurs dans la Société par J. B. Salgues.

21 février. Littérature slave, II (Mél.).

4 mars. F. D. Schlegel.

1. J'ai taché de faire cette table aussi complète que possible, mais quand il s'agit d'un écrivain comme Nodier, il serait présomptueux de prétendre jamais offrir un travail bibliographique définitif.

- 7 mars. F. D. Le Dissipateur ¹.
10 mars. F. D. Joconde.
12 mars. F. D. Alcibiade.
15 mars. F. D. Cabale au village.
18 mars. F. D. Alcibiade. Le Misanthrope.
20 mars. F. D. Raçon Du Guesclin (Mél.).
22 mars. Mes Pensées, par Neesqard (Mél.).
24 mars. F. D. Coquette corrigée.
28 mars. F. D. Joconde ; le Misanthrope en prose ; Le Voile.
31 mars. Dictionnaire de Gattel (Mél.).
14 avril. F. D. Partie de chasse d'Henri IV.
15 avril. Alexandre le Grand, roman.
17 avril. F. D. M. et Mme Jobineau.
19 avril. Cours d'A. Martin.
26 avril. F. D. Les Clefs de Paris.
30 avril. F. D. Retour d'Ulysse.
5 mai. *Suite*.
8 mai. F. D. Héritiers de Michan ; Un petit voyage.
11 mai. F. D. Revue des Théâtres.
14 mai. F. D. Hamlet (Mél.).
17 mai. Triomphe de Trajan ; Gabrielle de Vergy.
19 mai. F. D. L'Hôtel garni ; Le Petit Joconde.
1^{er} juin. Cours d'A. Martin.
2 juin. F. D. Etats de Blois.
7 juin. F. D. La Caravane du Caire ; L'Enfant Prodigue.

1. Plusieurs articles ont paru plus d'une fois, par exemple : *La Complainte de la noble épouse d'Asan Aga* se trouve d'abord dans un article sur la *Littérature Slave*, *Journal des Débats*, 1814, et réimprimée dans les *Archives de la Littérature et des Arts*, 1820, dans la *Foudre*, 1822, et dans les *Tablettes Romantiques*, 1823.

L'article sur Millevoje de la *Quotidienne*, 19 mars 1823, cite également l'article du t. X des *Annales de la Littérature et des Arts*.

L'article : *Du Genre Romantique* des *Tablettes Romantiques*, 1823, est une citation de l'article sur *Petit Pierre* des *Annales de la Litt. et des Arts*, 1821.

Les articles des *Annales de la Litt. et des Arts*, 1821, sur le théâtre italien et espagnol sont les articles du *Journal des Débats* des 2 janv. et 11 mars 1822.

Le dernier Feuilleton Dramatique de Geoffroy a paru dans le *Journal des Débats* du 4 févr. 1814. Après la mort de Geoffroy, les feuillets ont recommencé le 7 mars 1814. Selon le *Livre du Centenaire du Journal des Débats*, ce sera Nodier qui les a fait du 7 mars au 1^{er} octobre. Le premier qu'il a signé est celui du 14 avril.

- 9 juin. E. D. Etats de Blois.
12 juin. F. D. L'Hôtel garni.
13 juin. F. D. Ma Tante ; Antonio et Cléopatre, ballet.
15 juin. F. D. Angéla.
19 juin. F. D. Ossian.
21 juin. F. D. Angela ; Le Chien de Montargis.
25 juin. F. D. Barbanéra.
1^{er} juillet. F. D. Mérope.
8 juillet F. D. Brittanicus ; Jeu de l'Amour et du Hasard.
11 juillet. F. D. Edouard d'Ecosse.
14 juillet. F. D. Edouard d'Ecosse, 2^e rep.
19 juillet. Zaïre, L'Ecole des Maris.
26 juillet. Dictionnaire de Gattel, II (Mél.).
30 juillet. F. D. Alzire.
13 août. F. D. Tancrede ; Tartuffe ; Le legs.
16 août. F. D. Bajazet.
19 août. Maréchal Souwarow.
21 août. F. D. Horace.
29 août. F. D. Eugénie.
3 septembre. F. D. Cinna.
5 septembre. L'Utilité des colonies (Mél.).
6 septembre. Andromaque.
13 septembre. F. D. Athalie.
19 septembre. F. D. Le Cid.
25 septembre. F. D. Gabrielle de Vergy.
27 septembre. Vie de Moreau.
10 octobre. F. D. Femme jalouse.
11 octobre. Vie du Gen. Charrette.
17 octobre. Mémoires de Renée Bordereau.
7 novembre. Procès de Louis XVI.
17 novembre. *Suite*.
5 décembre. Histoire de la guerre en Espagne (Mél.).
19 décembre. Manuel de Brunet.

1815

- 16 janvier. Au Roi (Mél.).
1^{er} février. L'Illyrie.
3 février. Manuel de Brunet, II.
7 février. Miot : Expéditions en Egypte.
12 février. Benj. Constant : Responsabilité des Ministres.
21 février. De Maistre : Les Constitutions.

- 27 février. Droz : Le Beau dans les Arts.
8 mars. Cavallero : Alphonse de Saragosse.
1^{er} avril Boniface : Manuel de la langue française (Mél.).
4 avril. Antigone de Ballanche (Mél.).
5 avril. Essais sur Démosthènes.
10 juillet. Chateauneuf : La Poésie, Les Poètes français aux XII^e,
XIII^e et XIV^e siècles (Mél.).
4 août. Saint-Morys : Aperçus sur la politique d'Europe.
14 août. Mémoires de M^{me} Larochejaquelin (Mél.).
25 août. *Suite* (Mél.).
9 septembre. Croft : Commentaires sur la langue française (Mél.).
12 octobre. Caricature en France.
2 novembre. Souvenirs. Portraits par le duc de Lewis (Mél.).
15 novembre. Laborde : Plan d'éducation
29 novembre. *Suite*.
25 novembre. Séance de l'Athénée.
30 novembre. *Suite*.
14 décembre. Souvenirs, par le duc de Lewis (Mél.).
29 décembre. Soupers de Momus. Recueils de chansons inédites.

1816

- 1^{er} janvier. La Convention.
29 janvier. L'Antigone de Ballanche, II (Mél.).
6 février. L'Antigone de Ballanche, III (Mél.).
12 février. Jeanne de France, par M^{me} de Genlis (Mél.).
18 février. Tilleul de Claude Morel (Mél.).
4 avril. Bâteaux à vapeur.
4 mai. Syllabaire classique (Mél.).
7 mai. Littérature romaine par Schoell (Mél.).
13 mai. Nécrologie. Sir H. Croft (Mél.).
12 juillet. Droz : L'Art d'être heureux (Mél.).
13 juillet. Tyrannie de Buonaparte.
23 juillet. Les Poètes français aux XII^e, XIII^e et XIV^e siècles, II
(Mél.).
30 juillet. L'Imagination, poème par Delille.
6 août. *Suite*.
19 août. Traduction du Triple Mariage (Mél.).
5 septembre. La colonie de Sierra Léone (Mél.).
19 septembre. L'Hindoustan (Mél.).
26 septembre. Procès de Ch. I (Mél.).
29 septembre. Inscriptiones des Gentilitiæ (Mél.).

- 1^{er} octobre. Sierra Léone, II, (Mél.).
13 octobre. Le Paradis perdu (Mél.).
22 octobre. Azaïs : Manuel de Philosophie.
30 octobre. Procès de Ch. I, II, (Mél.).
22 novembre. Société coloniale philanthropique (Mél.).
23 novembre. Aussy : Vie privée des Français.

1817

- 14 février. Mort de Marie-Antoinette par Tercy (Mél.).
24 février. Impôts indirects.
29 mars. Complot d'Arnold (Mél.).
4 avril. Vie du duc de Bourgogne (Mél.).
6 avril *Suite*.
14 avril. Impôts indirects, II.
19 avril. Louise de Senancourt (Mél.).
22 avril. Œuvres de Pierre et Thos. Corneille (Mél.).
27 avril. Œuvres de Molière.
8 mai. Blondin : Grammaire française.
24 mai. Traité du choix de livres par Peignot (Mél.).
9 juin. Choix des poésies des Troubadours par Raynouard (Mél.).
16 juin. Mémoires du card. de Retz (Mél.).
3 juillet. Des changements dans l'empire romain sous Dioclétien.
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